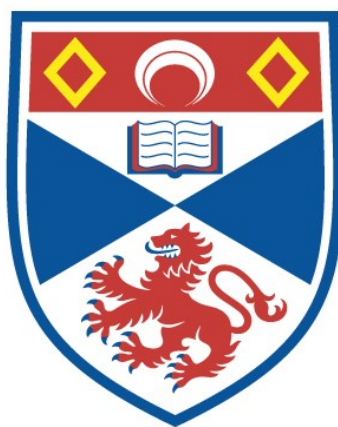


**WALAHFRID STRABO'S 'LIBELLUS DE EXORDIIS
ET INCREMENTIS QUARUNDAM IN
OBSERVATIONIBUS ECCLESIASTICIS RERUM' :
A TRANSLATION AND LITURGICAL COMMENTARY**

Alice L. Harting-Corrêa

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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Walahfrid Strabo's *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis
quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum:*
a translation and liturgical commentary

by

Alice L. Harting-Corrêa

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of St. Andrews

August 1990

St. John's House,
St. Andrews



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1. The first of these is the collection of records
which are the basis of the statistical analysis
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ABSTRACT

This first history of the western liturgy, was written c.842 by Walahfrid Strabo, a cleric from southern Germany. It was probably written to be used in the monastery on the island of Reichenau on Lake Constance (where Walahfrid was abbot from 838-849) as a teaching text for priests who would minister to rural parishes. Often cited but never studied in depth, this is the first translation of the entire text. In the commentary I have attempted to demonstrate that in the middle of the ninth century an intelligent liturgist can give us an accurate and realistic contemporary picture of ecclesiastical and liturgical matters. But unusually Walahfrid presents his material in an evolutionary perspective and with precise citations of his sources, rather in the manner of a modern historian, not in the simple expository or allegorical forms which were more typical of the period.

The first part of the *libellus* examines various features of church buildings *per se*, such as altars, vocabulary for many architectural features, the use of pictures and images, and the dedication of churches. The second and longer section of *De exordiis* is a detailed examination of various liturgical aspects of public ceremonies conducted in both churches and monasteries. One of Walahfrid's major concerns in the second half of the *libellus* is to present the history of the Eucharistic liturgy, with specific references to topics such as fasting, frequency of communion, and the arrangement of the sections of the Mass; another is the origins of certain liturgical actions in baptism, an area which the Carolingians saw in a legislative context, the result of Charlemagne's educational reforms for the clergy, and the proliferation of Christianity throughout the Frankish empire; a third is the development of hymnography, the collection of chants or songs that are neither canonical psalms nor biblical canticles, but enter into the celebration of the liturgy, especially the Liturgy of the Hours (hymns, antiphons, responses, etc.).

My comments put Walahfrid's remarks into the wider context of Christian literature, from early Patristic texts up to the innovatory writings of the Carolingian era when the liturgy was in a state of flux, and for monk, priest, scribe, musician, bishop and emperor participation in its development was a lively issue. The detailed examinations of Walahfrid's sources, theological, historical, legislative and literary, are crucial evidence for the transmission of texts and their availability to scholars in the mid-ninth century. I have demonstrated where Walahfrid is in error as a result of the texts he has used or lack of them, where he agrees with modern literature, and where he is the only source. Where it is liturgically relevant, Walahfrid's vocabulary is discussed with reference to both Patristic and Carolingian literature. His use of Greek and Old High German, although well worth intensive study, has not been subjected to detailed analysis in this thesis.

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Declarations

I, Alice Lindsay Harting-Corrêa, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 95,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date:

Signature:

7 August 1990

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No.12 in October, 1984 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in October, 1985; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1985 and 1990.

Date:

Signature:

7 August 1990

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ant.	Amalarius, <i>Liber de ordine antiphonarii</i> , OLO III, 13-109.
AHDW	<i>Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch</i> , eds. Karg-Gasterstädt, E. and T. Frings (Berlin, 1968ff.).
ALW	<i>Archiv für Liturgie-Wissenschaft</i> (Regensburg, 1950ff.).
ASW	<i>Althochdeutsches Sprachschatz oder Wörterbuch</i> , Graff, E.G. (Berlin, 1834-46).
BM ²	<i>Regesta imperii</i> I: <i>Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern, 751-918</i> , eds. J.F. Böhmer and E. Mühlbacher ^{2nd ed.} (Hildesheim, 1966).
CAP	<i>The Church at Prayer</i> , ed. A.G. Martimort (English edition, trans. M.J. O'Connell; 4 vols. London, 1986-88). I: <i>Principles of the Liturgy</i> , I.H. Dalmatis et al. (London, 1987). II: <i>The Eucharist</i> , R. Cabié (London, 1986). III: <i>The Sacraments</i> , R. Cabié et al. (London, 1988). IV: <i>The Liturgy and Time</i> , A.G. Martimort et al. (London, 1986).
CCCC	Corpus Christi College Cambridge library
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> (Turnhout, 1971ff.).
CCH	<i>La Coleccion Canonica Hispana</i> , eds. G. Diez and F. Rodriguez, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1966-84)
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> (Turnhout, 1954ff.)
Clavis	<i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i> , ed. E. Dekkers and F. Gaebelein (Steenbrugge, 1961).
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> (Louvain, 1903ff.).
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (Vienna, 1866ff.)
CVH	<i>Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos</i> , ed. J. Vives et al. (Barcelona, 1963).
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , eds. F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq [and H. Marrou] (Paris, 1907-53).
DB	<i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> , ed. J. Hastings, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1898-1904).

- De cler. inst. Rhabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione*, PL 107, cols. 295-420.
- De univ. Rhabanus Maurus, *De universo sive de rerum naturis*, PL 111, cols. 13-614.
- DLF *Dictionnaire Latin-Francais des auteurs chrétiens*, ed. A. Blaise (Strasbourg, 1954).
- DMA *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J.R. Strayer (New York, 1982ff.).
- D-R *Holy Bible*, translated from the Latin Vulgate (Douai, A.D. 1609; Rheims, A.D. 1582).
- DSM *Dictionnaire de spiritualité et mystique*, eds. A. Rayez et al. (Paris, 1937ff.).
- Ducange *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, ed. C. Ducange (Niort, 1885).
- EJ *Encyclopedia Judaica*, eds. C. Roth and G. Wigoder, 16 vols. (Jerusalem, 1972).
- EL *Ephemerides liturgicae* (Rome, 1887ff.).
- EOMIA *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*, ed. C.H. Turner (Oxford, 1899-1930).
- Etym. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, ed. W. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911).
- GeS *Gelasian Sacramentary* ed. L.K. Mohlberg (1971).
- GLL *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.*, ed. A. Souter (Oxford, 1969).
- GrS *Gregorian Sacramentary*, ed. J. Deshusses, 3 vols. (cited by item number) (Freiburg, 1971-1982).
- HBC *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed., eds. E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (London, 1986).
- HBS Henry Bradshaw Society for Editing Rare Liturgical Texts (London, 1891ff.).
- HDEH *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, ed. C.R. Cheney (London, 1948).
- HE Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896. Rpt Oxford, 1946).
- Jaffé *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé (Leipzig, 1885-1888).
- JB *The Jerusalem Bible*, ed. A. Jones (London, 1964).

JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LARMO	<i>Lexique des Anciennes Règles Monastiques Occidentales</i> , 2 vols., ed. J.M. Clément, <i>Instrumenta Patristica</i> 7 (Belgium, 1978).
LMA	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> , eds. L. Lutz et al. (Munich and Zurich).
LP	<i>Le Liber Pontificalis</i> , ed. L. Duchesne.
L&S	<i>A Latin Dictionary</i> , eds. C. Lewis and C. Short, (Oxford, 1879; impression of 1969).
Mansi	<i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , ed. J.D. Mansi.
MAS	B. Bischoff, <i>Mittelalterliche Studien</i> , 3 vols., I (1966), II (1967), III (1981).
MBDS	<i>Mittelalterliche Bibliotheks Kataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz</i> , ed. P. Lehmann, 4 vols. (Munich, 1918-1979).
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica.</i> <i>Auct. ant.</i> <i>Auctores antiquissimi</i> <i>Capit.</i> <i>Capitularia regum Francorum</i> <i>Capit. episc.</i> <i>Capitula episcoporum</i> <i>Conc.</i> <i>Concilia</i> <i>Epp.</i> <i>Epistolae (in Quart)</i> <i>Fontes iuris N.S.</i> <i>Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui, Nova series</i> <i>Poetae</i> <i>Poetae Latini medii aevi</i> <i>SS rer. Germ.</i> <i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum</i> <i>scholarum separatim editi</i> <i>SS rer. Merov.</i> <i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i> <i>SS</i> <i>Scriptores (in Folio)</i>
MLD	<i>Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i> , ed. R. Latham (London, 1975ff.).
MLLM	<i>Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus</i> , ed. J. Niermeyer (Leiden, 1976).
MLWB	<i>Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch</i> , eds. O. Prinz and J. Schneider (Munich, 1967ff.).
NCBS	<i>Nova Concordantia Bibliorum Sacrorum Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i> , ed. B. Fischer, 5 vols. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt).
NCE	<i>New Catholic Encyclopedia</i> , ed. W.J. McDonald, 17 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1967-79).
NG	<i>Novum glossarium</i> , ed. F. Blatt (Copenhagen, 1957ff.).
NGDMM	<i>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. S. Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980).
Off.	Amalarius, <i>Liber Officialis</i> , OLO II, 13-565.

ODCC	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> , ed. F.L. Cross and E. Livingstone, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1985).
ODP	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Popes</i> , ed. J.N.D. Kelly (Oxford, 1986)
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1968-1982).
OLO	<i>Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia</i> , 3 vols., ed. J. Hanssens (Vatican City, 1948-1950).
OR I, etc.	<i>Ordo Romanus</i> . Unless the contrary is indicated, the number accompanying this abbreviation is the one assigned in <i>Les Ordines Romani</i> , ed. Andrieu.
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina</i> , J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64).
RB	<i>Benedicti Regula</i> , ed. R. Hanslik, (Vienna, 1960).
RBén	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i> (Abbaye de Maredsous, 1884ff.).
Rev.S.R.	<i>Revue des Sciences Religieuses</i>
REDMF	<i>Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior: Fontes</i> (Rome, 1955ff.).
RHE	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i> (Louvain, 1900ff.).
RMLW	<i>Revised Medieval Latin Word-List</i> , ed. R. Latham (Oxford, 1965).
RSR	<i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i> (Paris, 1910ff.).
RTAM	<i>Revue de théologie ancienne et médiévale</i> (Louvain, 1929ff.).
SC	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i> , eds. H. de Lubac and J. Caniélou (later: C. Mondésert) (Paris, 1942ff.).
SE	<i>Sacris erudiri</i> (Steenbrugge, 1948ff.).
SOL	<i>The Study of Liturgy</i> , eds. C. Jones, G. Wainwright, E. Yarnold (London, 1978, eighth impression 1987).
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig, 1900ff.).
TotLatLex	<i>Totius Latinitatis Lexicon</i> , ed. A. Forcellini (Prati, 1858-1860).
Vulgate	<i>Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i> , eds. R. Weber et al., 3rd edn. revised by B. Fischer (Stuttgart, 1985).

Acknowledgements

I have been the grateful recipient of the generosity of spirit and practical assistance within St. Andrews University and the international academic community. My Latin tutors, Dr. Adrian Gratwick and Mr. Roger Green, helped to reduce insurmountable 'brick walls' of translation to manageable 'stazne dykes'. Dr. Mary Whitby made the precision of the final phase of translation less of a labour and more of a joy.

Reading the bulk of the thesis for spelling mistakes and infelicities of expression as it neared completion was the task of Dr. Alicia Correa, Mrs. Patricia Richardson, and Mrs. Anne Rose. Printing from computer files was successfully seen to completion by the expertise and patience of Mr. Julian Crowe.

It is impossible to acknowledge individually all the members of the St. Andrews community who have made the preparation of this thesis an adventure and its submission a reality.

This thesis was undertaken because Professor Donald Bullough was willing to risk supervising a mature graduate student with unorthodox credentials. Any excellence found therein is a response to the wisdom of his choice of the ninth-century text for this twentieth-century mind, his infectious intellectual curiosity and uncompromising professional standards.

PREFATORY NOTES

I have worked from V. Krause's 1897 edition in MGH *Capitularia* II, pp. 473-516, rather than A. Knoëpfler's 1890 edition. Apart from occasional notes Krause is to be preferred.

Krause has based his edition on nine MSS. Four MSS contain the entire text of *De exordiis*: St. Gallen MS 446 (s.ix last third [St. Gallen: Bischoff]), Mainz MS 1549 (lost, known from *editio princeps*), Vat. lat. MS 1146 (s.xi) and Vienna MS 914 (s.xi); because of the absence of a crucial quire, Munich clm. 17184 (s.xi mid [(?) Freising, subsequently bound with a 12th-c. Schäftlarn book: D.A. Bullough]) contains a defective copy: the latter part of c.18 through the first section of c.21 is missing.

Three MSS contain cc.21-25 and cc.28-30: Ashburnh. Barrois MS 246 (untraceable), Munich clm. 14581 (s.xi ex/xii in [Regensburg]) and Bamberg Stadtbibl. Lit. MS 131 (A.II, 53) (s.ix/x [S. German]): Paris BN lat. MS 10757 (s.x [S. German]) contains only c.32, inserted in an abbreviated text of the *Formulae Salomonis*.

An examination of four of those MSS, the crucial St. Gallen MS 446, Munich clm. 14581, Munich clm. 17184, and Paris BN lat. 10757 leads me to believe that the text cannot be significantly improved upon. See also J. Hrbata's short article, 'De expositione Missae Walafridi Strabonis' which compares Vat. Lat. MSS 1146-48, but it makes no significant contribution to Krause's 1899 edition, nor does it add anything to the present commentary (Hrbata [1949], 145-165).

Aiming more at accuracy than elegance, I have taken few liberties with the translation. However, I have divided Walahfrid's long and elaborate sentences into shorter ones. Paragraphs are mine for the most part. Very occasionally Walahfrid's phraseology hardly makes for intelligible reading; in those cases I have added an explanatory gloss in the commentary.

I have followed the following procedure in order to ensure intelligibility in the translation: [...] are words understood in Latin, but need to be added in English; [sc. ...] are my own insertions for the sake of clarity; (...) are either Walahfrid's own words, or are particular cases where the Latin has been retained and the English added in brackets, especially common in chapters 6 and 7.

Translations of Biblical quotations in *De exordiis* are taken from the Douai (A.D. 1609)-Reims (A.D. 1582) English translation of the Bible, which was made not from the original languages but from the Latin Vulgate, some version of which was available to Walahfrid. Walahfrid's deviations from the standard Vulgate are translated accordingly and are noted in the commentary.

In general, the spelling of Old Testament names is that adopted by *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd edn.

The spelling of names of popes is that adopted by *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*.

All abbreviations of the books of the Bible follow B. Fischer's edition of the *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*.

References to *De exordiis* throughout will be to Krause's edition in the following form: chapter:page number.line number, e.g., 25:504.23.

INTRODUCTION

Walahfrid Strabo's *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum* written in exile from his abbey of Reichenau c.840-42 has been described as 'the first handbook of liturgical history' or the 'first history of the liturgy'.¹ As such it is referred to in passing and occasionally cited in almost every modern history of the western liturgy. The text was excellently edited in the late nineteenth century from all known mss, yet no comprehensive account or commentary has hitherto been undertaken.

This translation and liturgical commentary will attempt to reveal how in the middle of the ninth century an intelligent ecclesiastic can give us an accurate and realistic contemporary picture of ecclesiastical and liturgical matters. Although written by the abbot of a monastery (Reichenau), *De exordiis* is not a treatise for a monastic audience: Walahfrid's nine-year position as tutor at the Aachen court with the attendant exposure to the royal chapel and to the wide ranging interests of secular clergy there expanded his liturgical interests. But unusually for the period Walahfrid presents his material in an evolutionary (historical) perspective and with precise citations of his sources, rather in the manner of a modern historian, not in the simple expository or complex allegorical manner of other ninth-century writings on the liturgy. His use of sources raises two queries which will be of particular interest in this introduction. Firstly, was the range of source-texts available to Walahfrid sufficient to satisfy the requirements of modern scholarship? Secondly, if so, did his education enable him to use them in a scholarly manner?

¹ B. Bischoff (1950), 30-48; rpt. in MAS II (1967), 47; G. Cattin (1984), 20.

THE LITURGY

A historian views the liturgy as the forms of worship through which the historic church expresses itself collectively or (exceptionally) through its individual members. Because this is a definition in an academic context, it necessarily leaves out the dimension of the inner mystery, the 'supernatural riches of the Church's prayer'.²

Without some knowledge and understanding of the liturgy our twentieth-century view of the Early Middle Ages is seriously flawed. This is a situation similar to that of the Bible fifty years ago: in the 1930s the Bible had almost no place in the minds of medieval historians. Sir Richard Southern has recently described the great change that has come over the historical scene as a result of the new appreciation of its impact on medieval figures:

I can recall spending a whole year in 1933-4 studying the reign of the Emperor Charles the Bald with the great Ferdinand Lot. We studied every aspect of the reign - the Viking attacks, the translation of relics, the Capitulary of Quiercy, the revolt of Boson, the first cracks in the Carolingian Empire, and the early symptoms of feudalism. What was never mentioned was the image of Charles clothed in all the sanctity and power of an Old Testament ruler, which is now seen as a clue of the first importance for his habits of thought and springs of action. One has only to read the recent study of the reign by Wallace-Hadrill to realize the great change that

² CAP I, 7-18, here 12. The four volumes of *The Church at Prayer*, recently edited and translated from the French (London, 1986-88), are the most comprehensive account of the Roman Church's liturgical practice in relation to post-Vatican II. There are ample references to the historical development of the liturgy and excellent bibliographies. Walahfrid does not appear in the index of any of the four volumes.

Outstanding treatment of the historical development of particular aspects of the liturgy is frequently to be found in F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. 2, (Oxford, 1985) in spite of the necessary conciseness of the entries.

A more general examination of the liturgy which also includes historical aspects is presented in *The Study of Liturgy*, eds. C. Jones, G. Wainwright and E. Yarnold (London, 1980); its index is unfortunately brief and unsatisfactory.

has come over the historical scene as a result of the new appreciation of the role of the Bible.³

A similar change is inherent in the role of the liturgy.

Carolingian scholars were of necessity educated in church or monastery, centres of most intellectual activity. The royal palace had its chapel, a working centre of liturgical activity.⁴ Regardless of the degree of personal conviction, the liturgy was a common denominator, a part of daily life for most, a topic of correspondence and the business of councils and synods. The year, the month, the week and the day - the recurring divisions of life - were structured within prescribed liturgical actions which linked the activities of the Christian people to those of Christ, His precursors and His saints. Easter with its Lenten preparation determined special Feasts and Fasts, changes in the readings, the choice of hymns. The compilation of a hymnal for the Liturgy of the Hours exercised the royal palace as well as monasteries.⁵ Times for ordinations and baptisms were circumscribed by the calendar. But the liturgy in the mid-ninth century was in a state of flux, and for monk, priest, scribe, musician, bishop and emperor, participation in its development was a lively issue. A contemporary historical view of Carolingian liturgy is a key witness in the search for those elusive habits of thought and springs of action.

Walahfrid holds the unique position of offering the only historical view of the liturgy until the seventeenth century.⁶ He is the earliest student of the origin of rites and symbols or signs; their derivation sheds light on their true meaning, shows the distinction between the

³ R.W. Southern (1985), 1.

⁴ Helisachar writes in response to the common concern about the unsuitability of the versicles and responsories at the evening Office held in the palace chapel (MGH *Epp.* V, 307-309).

⁵ D.A. Bullough and Alice L. Harting-Corrêa (1990), 489-508.

⁶ Compare, e.g., CAP I, 15 with bibliography.

essential and secondary and demonstrates how they either transcend or are dependent upon cultures.⁷ In Walahfrid's view liturgical matters also meant the buildings in which worship was conducted. His study of their development and architectural details, their furnishings and priestly vestments adds another necessary dimension to our understanding of ninth-century liturgy.

Carolingian and medieval writers never used the word *liturgia* or *liturgicus*. The Greek word, *leitourgia*, had a very specific meaning in fifth- and fourth-century B.C. Athens. A 'liturgy' was a public service involving considerable expense, compulsory for the richer citizens andmetics, voluntary resident aliens who had acquired a resident status in the community. For example, one important liturgy was the *choregia*, provision of a chorus for one or other of the various lyric and dramatic contests⁸. The word 'liturgy' rarely occurs before the twentieth century in documents of the church. In fact, it was only in the nineteenth century that it came into general use in writings directed to the general public, although it was probably first used in 1588 by Georg Cassander with reference to Byzantine practice.⁹ Writers in the early medieval west chose a variety of titles for their treatises on the liturgy: *De ecclesiasticis officiis* was the title adopted by Isidore of Seville; Rhabanus Maurus entitled his work *De institutione clericorum*; *Liber officialis* was the choice of Amalarius of Metz.¹⁰ Stematically the title of Walahfrid's work appears to be in the MS archetype, although it is uncertain whether it is his own. However, the language is certainly

⁷ For a recent summary of the history of liturgical signs such as postures, gestures, actions and material elements, (without reference to *De exordiis*), see CAP I, 173-225, with ample bibliographies in each section.

⁸ M.C. Howatson (1989), 324-5, s.v. liturgy.

⁹ CAP I, 7-8.

¹⁰ For editions see Bibliography of Sources.

that of the preface: *de quarundam ecclesiasticarum exordiis et causis rerum* (475.23). The earliest Reichenau library catalogue entry c.840/42 is defective, but reads *Walahfridi libellus, qualiter ordo ecclesiasticus ... et quomodo per temporum augmentationes sit multiplicatus in diversis*.¹¹

Walahfrid uses several terms within *De exordiis* for the one word 'liturgy': *divinus cultus*¹², *ministerium*¹³, *ecclesiastici ritus*¹⁴, *sacrae res*¹⁵, *servitium*¹⁶, *divini honores*¹⁷, and *solemnia*.¹⁸ *Officium* occurs most frequently¹⁹, commonly in the plural, *officia*, sometimes modified by *divina* or *sacra* seemingly to give variety of expression, significantly in one chapter (26) by *publica* and *privata* (see commentary on that chapter, c.26:506.14).²⁰

This variety of expression is an important example of the growth of vocabulary in the first half of the ninth century. Alcuin, typical of his period, relies on a much more limited range of terms for our word

¹¹ MBDS I, 262. We are fortunate in having Lehmann's edition of the early ninth century Reichenau and St. Gallen library catalogues. The close relationship between the two monasteries (see below, 93¹), particularly in Walahfrid's lifetime, has made it possible to consider the contents of both libraries available for his use; see Table of Sources, 53-4. See also M. Manitius (1911), 312.

¹² Table of contents:c.13.

¹³ prose preface.9; c.25:503.32.

¹⁴ c.2:477.2.

¹⁵ Table of Contents:c.6; c.20:492.15; c.23:497.8.

¹⁶ c.7:481.21; c.28:513.14.

¹⁷ c.8:482.29, 483.18-19.

¹⁸ c.22:496.12; c.23:496.19, 499.32; c.26:504.27.

¹⁹ In chapters 7, 9, 13, 21, 22, 23, 26 and 32.

²⁰ For the problems of translation in a particular context see the commentary on, e.g., c.5:478.33 *officia*.

'liturgy'.²¹ Frequently, analysis of a word's usage in *De exordiis* is the most accurate guide to Walahfrid's meaning. His exegetical works are not indexed, however, which makes it impractical to analyze his liturgical vocabulary in further detail.²²

The influence of the Roman liturgical tradition permeated the Frankish church: *Quorum morem ideo in sacris rebus tam multae gentes imitantur*²³; *Romani firmissimi fidei servatores*.²⁴ In certain matters of liturgy and discipline the authority of the Church at Rome was to be followed because it was set apart by virtue of its apostolic succession and its freedom from heresy (see *De exordiis* 23:497.6-10). Despite this Roman influence, early ninth-century ecclesiastical and liturgical reforms, and the attempts at standardization, the period remained characterized by experimentation and diversity. Liturgical variety is a dominant theme in *De exordiis*. When examining the *exordia et incrementa* of a practice, e.g., daily communion, Walahfrid presents diverse liturgical customs frequently not standardized even in his own time.²⁵ Of

²¹ See D.A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, c.4 (publication forthcoming). Note that modern dictionaries or lexica of Medieval Latin are often seriously misleading in terminology of the liturgy.

²² Although there is only a single reference to Walahfrid, see C. Mohrmann's 4 vol. *Études sur le latin des Chrétiens* (Rome, 1961-1977) for the Carolingian inheritance of liturgical Latin; for her contribution to the understanding of the development of *officium* to mean an ecclesiastical service or the liturgy, see vol. III (1965), 307-330, esp. 321-24. For further discussion of all of the above see CAP I, 7-18 with copious references.

²³ *De exordiis* c.23:497.8; translation, 98. For an excellent summary of the Romanization of the liturgy and the sources see Vogel (1986), 149-50.

²⁴ *De exordiis* c.26:507.3-4; translation, 116.

²⁵ See chapters 4; 12; 19; 20:492.17; 21; 22; 23:500.26-36, 502.30; 26:507.20; 27:510.26, 511.2.20; 29:514; and *finis*.

course diversity in usage was acceptable among those who were unified by one Faith and one Lord.²⁶

With notable exceptions in chapters 8 and 9 where a man of intense and emotional reactions emerges, Walahfrid maintains a tolerant perspective, continuing a long tradition of moderation practised by those in authority and based upon the monastic virtues of discretion and humility.²⁷ Typical of his sensitivity is chapter 22 which is concerned with the frequency of taking communion:

*Itaque unusquisque in suo sensu abundet, dum fides concordet, ut nec saepius offerentes aestiment Deum aliter petitiones non posse discernere, nec semel hostias per diem immolantes putent suae fidei subtilitatem potius, quam superiorum devotionem divinis acceptam conspectibus.*²⁸

His approach to the liturgy in *De exordiis* is objective and factual, but he also practised and lived those rites and understood the inner attitudes. Like liturgists today he puts the paschal mystery at the heart of liturgical actions (see chapters 15-25). But because he also gives the word 'sacrament' its older and broader meaning in the preface (see commentary on prose preface 475.9), in his view everything is somehow sacramental, all *ecclesiasticae res* are comprised of liturgical actions.

²⁶ For a summary of the situation see CAP I, 113-119 with bibliography.

²⁷ Benedict of Nursia teaches that discretion is the mother of the virtues (RB c.64); the former monk Gregory the Great wrote to Bishop John of Syracuse, *Cum vero culpa non exigit, omnes secundum rationem humilitatis aequales sunt* (*Registrum* IX.27 [CCL 140 A, 588]). For an evaluation of this tradition in an eighth-century context see P. Meyvaert (1964), 17-18. See especially *De exordiis* cc.12, 20-23.

²⁸ 496.15-19; translation, 97.

BIOGRAPHY OF WALAHFRID

Walahfrid's life falls into three distinct phases, as student, tutor, and abbot. These stages are documented from various pieces of evidence: his own poetry (MGH *Poetae* II); the evidence of two surviving imperial diplomas; *Annales Augiensis*; the *Verbrüderungsbuch*²⁹ from the monastery at Reichenau; and his own commonplace book, now St. Gallen Stiftsbibl. MS 878.³⁰ Most of this material was used in 1878 by A. Ebert whose 'Zu der Lebensgeschichte Walahfrid Strabo's' is the first to satisfy the requirements of modern scholarship, and is interesting because of its reference to Walahfrid as a deacon. More recent accounts with full references and extensive bibliographies are M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 1, (Munich, 1911), 302-315; K. Beyerle, *Die Kultur der abtei Reichenau* 1, (Munich, 1925), 92-108; and K. Langosch, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexicon* IV, (Berlin, 1955), 734-770, especially 738-767 which provide an excellent analysis of Walahfrid's writings. The best account in English of Walahfrid the poet is P. Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London, 1985), 34-40, with full bibliography. A brief biography in English based primarily on Beyerle but without detailed references is in W. Blunt's *Walahfrid Strabo: Hortulus* (Pittsburg, PA, 1966), 1-12. I concern myself here only with those aspects of his formation which have direct bearing upon the writing of *De exordiis*.

Walahfrid was born in 808/9 and entered Reichenau as a *puer* from a poor Swabian family. Strabo is not his family name. It is a nickname

²⁹ This is a Confraternity Book, a book containing names of living members of a monastery and the monasteries with which it has prayerful links, e.g. Reichenau and St. Gallen since 786. For a more detailed look at the close relationship between Reichenau and St. Gallen see K. Beyerle (1925) I, 55-212, esp. 85-108; M. Hartig (1925), II, 619-44, esp. 621-625.

³⁰ See below, 14.

Walahfrid himself used: it means 'squinter', referring to what must have been an obvious visual defect. His formal education began at Reichenau where he developed a warm and longstanding relationship with Grimald (c.800-872), head teacher at Reichenau in 823 and later wrongly reputed a pupil of Alcuin.³¹ Walahfrid was a brilliant and precocious student: at the age of eighteen he rewrote a prose account of a death-bed vision of his teacher, Wetti, in 945 hexameter lines. In 827 he was sent to Fulda for two years to complete his studies under the renowned Rhabanus Maurus (c.776-856), who was a favourite pupil of Alcuin (c.735-804).

The years most crucial for the production of *De exordiis* began in 829 when he was summoned to the Aachen court of Louis the Pious to take the position of tutor to Charles, the emperor's youngest son (823-877).³² An intriguing detail from a contemporary poem offers some background to Walahfrid's new post. After the ceremony of the baptism of the Danes in 826, a royal hunt takes place. The three year old prince Charles is thrilled by the chase and would have dashed off on a pony of his own were it not for the restraint of his mother and his anonymous tutor, his *peda-*

³¹ Grimald subsequently pursued an illustrious career as chaplain to Louis the Pious at Aachen in 826, arch-chaplain to Louis the German in Regensburg in 836 and abbot of St. Gallen (841/2-872), a monastery with close connections with Reichenau. Probably influential in Walahfrid's appointment as tutor at Aachen, Grimald was perhaps behind Louis the Pious's inopportune appointment of Walahfrid as abbot of Reichenau; it is also likely that Grimald arranged for Louis the German to reinstate Walahfrid as abbot of Reichenau in 842 after two years in exile. For the close relationship established between Grimald and Louis the German see B. Bischoff (1959), 218f.; rpt. in MAS III (1981), 187-212.

³² This post was apparently offered through the recommendation of the powerful and influential Hilduin, arch-chaplain to Louis the Pious. The evidence for this connection between Hilduin and Walahfrid lies in the panegyric on Hilduin in Walahfrid's poem, 'De Imagine Tetrici' also written in 829 and the expressions of gratitude in Walahfrid's poem, 'Hiltwino seniori', presumably written in 830. For the most recent account of Hilduin see M. Lapidge (1987), pp.56-79, esp. p.56.

gogus.³³ It is tempting to see Walahfrid in the role, but he was then a seventeen- or eighteen-year-old student at Reichenau, or just beginning his two year stay at Fulda. It is clear from this account, however, that when Walahfrid went to Aachen to serve as the six year old's tutor, he replaced a *pedagogus* who had guided the royal prince in his early childhood. For the next nine years, until 838 when Charles came of age at fifteen on June 13, Walahfrid resided with the royal family.³⁴

Early in that year Erlebold retired as abbot of Reichenau and died on February 13. Probably to strengthen the links between Reichenau and the Court by filling that vacancy, and to show his gratitude to his son's tutor, Louis the Pious then appointed Walahfrid abbot of his own monastery³⁵, a position he held, with the exception of two years in exile (at Speyer from 840-842), until his death in 849.

Much of Walahfrid's life is well-documented and fully presented in the works cited above on page 8. But evidence for his ordination to the priesthood, a matter of some significance for the grounding of a ninth-century liturgical historian, has been either overlooked or ignored. One piece of evidence for his ecclesiastical status may be cautiously offered. At the end of the list of signatures to a Le Mans charter '*Iudicium ... Anisolensi*', one reads: *Walafridus diaconus rogatus recognovi et subscripsi*. Although the text is demonstrably spurious, the signatures are of men known to be at the Aachen court in 838; therefore, the charter may offer substantial evidence that by 838 Walahfrid had been ordained deacon. The charter in its present form has latterly been dated

³³ Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen elegiacum in honorem Hludovici christianissimi Caesaris Augusti*, ed. E. Faral, 182; Eng. trans. P. Godman (1985), 257.

³⁴ For the relevance of these nine years for the content of *De exordiis* see below, 31-3..

³⁵ *Erelebadus cessit; et Walafrid constitutus est* (*Monumenta Moguntina* [ed. P. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, III], 703); (*Annales Augienses*, 838).

to 863³⁶, well after Walahfrid's death. This would have ensured his inability to testify to the charter's credibility, but does not detract from this evidence of his status as a deacon.

Indisputable evidence for his priesthood appears uniquely in the verse epitaph composed in sixteen lines of elegiac couplets by Rhabanus Maurus to commemorate Walahfrid's untimely death. Within the traditional eulogy of his moral righteousness, virtuous character and loving nature, are the important references - *presbyter*, *monachus* and *abbas*.³⁷ This testimony from a former teacher who indeed would have followed the career of his illustrious student must be considered valid evidence for his priestly status. Of course, after the 817 reforms of Louis the Pious and Benedict of Aniane, the likelihood that an abbot would be in priest's orders was greater than in the two decades either side of 800. Monastic confraternity lists have recently been interpreted as evidence of a growing involvement of monasteries in pastoral activities, not least in the churches on their own estates.³⁸ *De exordiis* could well have been a teaching text for priests filling just such a function in the churches on the estates of Reichenau. (See also below, 18-9).

In his epitaph Rhabanus also includes a reference to Walahfrid as a teacher - *Nam docuit multos* - certainly not referring to his years at Aachen, but to the subsequent period at Reichenau. There appears to be only one other reference to his teaching career during 838-849: in a

³⁶ W. Goffart (1966), 26, and 316-318 where other views are stated.

³⁷ MGH *Poetae* II, 239.

³⁸ For the increasing practice of the priestly ordination of monks see P. Schmitz (1948), I, 287; G. Constable (1964), 145; and most recently O. Oexle (1978), 101-3 with references to previous literature: cp. the table on p.110 (Saint-Germain-des-Prés).

lengthy letter (c.850-855) to Grimald, Walahfrid's friend and mentor, Ermenricus refers to *beatissimo praeceptore meo Walahfredo*.³⁹

The period of Walahfrid's abbacy of Reichenau from 838-842 was a time of uncertainty and exile. Louis the Pious had recommended Walahfrid's appointment as abbot when Charles came of age in 838. But the monks of Reichenau had the right to elect their own abbot. Erlebold had recently retired; the appointment of the thirty-year-old court intimate appears to have met with resistance in the monastery. Although his existence was acknowledged, his abbacy was not. Reichenau's librarian, Reginbert (d.846), writes in the 842 library catalogue : *Incipit brevis librorum, quos ego Reginbertus, indignus monachus atque scriba, in insula coenobio vocabulo Sindleez Avva sub dominatu Waldonis, Heitonis, Erlebaldi et Ruadhelmi abbatum eorum ...* There is no mention of Abbot Walahfrid, but in connection with two codices in the list Reginbert indeed refers to *Walafrid, frater noster* and simply *Walahfrid*.⁴⁰ In the Reichenau catalogue of abbots the monastery's choice for the successor to Erlebold is named: Ruadhelm. Walahfrid's name does not appear until 842. On the other hand, the cloister annals list Walahfrid abbot from 838.⁴¹ And in two diplomas of Louis the Pious dated respectively 21 April and 20 June 839, Walahfrid is named abbot of Reichenau.⁴² Such deliberate omissions can only demonstrate the resentment Walahfrid's appointment created for a self-governing community.

A bad situation worsened in 840 when a redistribution of lands, which the Emperor instituted after his son Pippin's death in 838, left Louis the German with no territorial increase. He took revenge upon his

³⁹ MGH *Epp.* V, 564.

⁴⁰ MBDS I, 258-259, 262.

⁴¹ K. Beyerle (1925), I, 92.

⁴² BM², 991 and 994.

father by plundering Alemannia and deposing his father's appointment to the abbacy of Reichenau and installing Ruadhelm. He then revoked Bernwig's abbacy of St. Gallen in 841 and installed his chaplain Grimald; he forced Rhabanus Maurus to retire as abbot of Fulda in 842.

In 841 Walahfrid writes to Louis's eldest son, Lothar, for help and states the location of his exile:

*Spira mihi ante alias quondam dispectior urbes,
Et quam noluerim civili nomine pridem
Compellare, meis nunc fessis unica rebus
Adiutrix, gremio profugum collegit aperto.
Spira, mihi ante alias praedulces dulcior urbes,
Romuleae dicenda meo iam carmine sedi
Aequalis, non iure loci, sed amore iuvandi...⁴³*

There was little Lothar could do; Reichenau was in Louis the German's territory. It was probably Grimald, recently appointed abbot of St. Gallen and friend of both Louis and Walahfrid, who ensured Walahfrid's return from exile in 842.⁴⁴ It was during this period of upheaval and exile that Walahfrid put *De exordiis* into its final form and gave it to Reginbert, the Reichenau librarian, who listed it in his 835-842 library catalogue.⁴⁵

In August of 849 Walahfrid drowned crossing the Loire while on a diplomatic mission between his former student, Charles the Bald, and Louis the German. Although a diplomatic mission was not a standard function of an abbot, it was typical of the Carolingian age. It was an illustrious career for a man who lived only forty years, and unusual in that for most medieval scholars renown came much later. He died at the

⁴³ MGH *Poetae* II, 414.

⁴⁴ For Grimald's connection with Louis the German see above, 931.

⁴⁵ MBDS I, 262.

age when Jerome and Alcuin would have just begun their greatest work.⁴⁶

An unusual (although not unique⁴⁷) MS offers particularly interesting evidence for Walahfrid's intellectual development in his formative years at Reichenau and Fulda, his nine years at court and during the period of his abbacy at Reichenau. In his fundamental article, 'Eine Sammelhlehandschrift Walahfrid Strabo', Prof. B. Bischoff has convincingly demonstrated that St. Gallen MS 878, a small codex (about 21x14 cm) written in various shades of black and brown ink on parchment in a clear Carolingian minuscule, was written for and largely by Walahfrid over a period of about 24 years.⁴⁸ It is his commonplace book, or *Vademecum*, a collection of texts and excerpts from texts that he found worthy of copying for additional study and use. This extraordinary codex reveals a widely read scholar with a great range of interests.

Walahfrid's hand displays the characteristics of at least four stages of development. Bischoff dates the variety of script he calls W I to 825 when Walahfrid was 17, and W II to 826, both of these belonging to his years at Reichenau. Not surprisingly the items copied in these hands give evidence of an interest in older textbooks on Computus including the more advanced mathematics for the computation of the date of Easter, and the basic elements of grammar. The hand 'W III' covers (in Bischoff's view) his stay at Fulda from 827-829. This material consists of letters,

⁴⁶ Jerome's great Latin revision of the Bible was begun when he was about forty, in 382; the greater part of his other works was produced after the age of forty-four when he settled at Bethlehem and ruled a monastery until his death in his late seventies. The greater part of Alcuin's datable works, *De imagine Dei*, *De fide Trinitatis*, *De animae ratione* to name but three, were written after the scholar's fiftieth year (D.A. Bullough [1983b], 1-69).

⁴⁷ St. Gallen MS 265 is a similar codex compiled by Walahfrid's teacher and friend, Grimald: see B. Bischoff (1959); rpt. in MAS III (1981), 200.

⁴⁸ See B. Bischoff (1950), 30-48; rpt. in MAS II (1967), 34-51.

a recipe with German glosses, Alcuin's *De vera philosophia*, and transcriptions from Rhabanus's recent textbook on *Computus*.⁴⁹

The latest hand in St. Gallen MS 878, Bischoff's 'W IV', supposedly spans the remaining two decades of Walahfrid's life - the nine years at Aachen and his time at Reichenau and in exile. The division at 829 creates problems although no satisfactory alternative is deducible from the MS evidence.⁵⁰ The entries in this later hand, and those associated with it, point to his involvement with teaching: additions to earlier entries on *Computus* and *Grammatica*, excerpts from historical texts, and sections on the Bible and liturgical history. Wider interests are also represented: recipes, rules for health, instructions for fruit growing and wine making and three alphabets - Greek, Hebrew and Runic. An extract from Ep. 120 of the Younger Seneca, demonstrably taken from Bamberg Class. MS 46 (M.V.14), is a notable indication of his access to the palace library.⁵¹

This *Vademecum* allows a glimpse into the intellectual interests of Walahfrid the teacher and historian, but it very strikingly includes almost none of the sources for *De exordiis* and very little material of any sort that is of liturgical interest.

⁴⁹ In a paleographical study of this section of the codex Prof. Wesley Stevens has supplemented Prof. Bischoff's work on W III and argues that the notes and corrections made on the copy of Rhabanus's *Computus* which Walahfrid had first made at Reichenau allow us some degree of understanding of his schooling in arithmetic and astronomy at Fulda; see W. Stevens (1972a), 13-20.

⁵⁰ My own doubts are shared by Dr. David Ganz and Prof. Wesley Stevens (personal communication).

⁵¹ L. D. Reynolds has firmly attributed this MS to the court scriptorium (Reynolds [1983]), 373).

THE TEXT

The designation, a history of the liturgy, is derived from Walahfrid's own declaration of intent in the prose preface. Writing in the clear, concise style so characteristic of much of the book, he informs the reader that he is concerned with the origins and developments of the liturgy: *Scribam igitur in quantum Dominus dederit facultatem, sicut ex authenticorum dictis, quae adhuc attigimus, addiscere potui, de quarundam ecclesiasticarum exordiis et causis rerum, et unde hoc vel illud in consuetudinem venerit, et quomodo processu temporis auctum sit, indicabo.*⁵²

But these broad generalizations fail to convey both the singularly wide range of liturgical matters that he examines in scholarly detail, and his thoughtful organization of the material. Of course, the table of contents (Walahfrid's own, and still a rarity in the Carolingian period - see the commentary on the table of contents, pp. 135-7) lists the topics of the 32 chapters (of unequal length); although they are all of liturgical interest, they cover subjects as diverse as bells, pictures in churches, hymns and fasting before communion.

A study of the text as a whole, as well as pointers from Walahfrid himself, discloses two main subjects of investigation subdivided into several areas of related interest. The conclusion of the preface introduces the scope of the first: *Et primum de sacris aedibus, in quibus ipsa celebrantur sacra, dicendum videtur.*⁵³

Chapters 1-5 are concerned with the origins of buildings for worship: pagan, Jewish and Christian. Chapters 6 and 7 look at the vocabulary for the buildings and some of their details, their equivalents in Latin and German, and some Greek derivations. Chapters 9-11 explore

⁵² *De exordiis* 475.22-25; translation, 57.

⁵³ *De exordiis* 475:26-27; translation, 57.

the background to the consecration of churches and to the activities which are both allowed and forbidden in them. The Christian motives behind these activities form the theme of chapters 12-14. The material in this area is of limited interest for the commentary.

The opening words of chapter 15 complete the first section and introduce the second: *Haec de sacrorum fabricis et usibus locorum nos pro modulo tarditatis et ignaviae nostrae commemorasse sufficiat; nunc de sacrificiis et oblationibus, quae in eis Deo exhibentur, quod ipse dederit, adiungamus.*⁵⁴

Here the Eucharist is the principal object of scrutiny: chapters 15-20 examine the development of the sacrament of the Eucharist; chapters 21-22 are concerned with the frequency of Holy Communion, and chapters 23-25 with various aspects of the Mass. Because the Eucharist and related material were commonly the bases for early ninth-century theological, expository and allegorical treatises, these eleven chapters are all the more exceptional for the evolutionary way in which they are presented. The remaining chapters, 8 and 26-32, are self-contained and explore a further variety of liturgical activities that range from baptism to tithing.

Underlying Walahfrid's consideration of liturgical development, is contemporary controversy; several chapters include didactic material which presents significant and sometimes unique evidence for certain mid-ninth-century ecclesiastical concerns. This is noted in the commentary: see e.g., chapter 19: a recurrence of an improper offering, chapter 22: the rationale behind daily communion, and chapter 23: a warning against voluntary non-participation in the Peace.

Before an examination of *De exordiis* is undertaken in the light of other contemporary treatises on the liturgy, it may be helpful to con-

⁵⁴ C.15:489.14-16; translation, 83.

sider the possible circumstances which led to the writing of a work with such an unusual perspective and the audience for whom it was intended. Both the verse and the prose preface⁵⁵ state that *De exordiis* was written at the request of Reginbert, who held the post of librarian at Reichenau from the time Walahfrid was a boy until well into the years of his abbacy, possibly until 846 (the year of Reginbert's death). Although writing something at the request of another person is a standard rhetorical topos (for Walahfrid as a writer in the rhetorical tradition see below, 24), nonetheless, in this case it may be relevant to a real deficiency in ninth-century ecclesiastical texts. In this period of liturgical development, inevitably new questions about liturgical practice were raised: why is a ceremony done in a particular way, or in a particular order? Is it an ancient ritual or a new one? Both Walahfrid and Reginbert would have understood the need for a treatise which could provide some of the answers. A history of the liturgy was needed; it could be used for teaching priests in the final stages of their instruction. Indeed, Walahfrid the teacher, historian and liturgist, was well prepared for such a task.

This argument is well supported by passages in the text. Walahfrid encourages further study in chapter 6 (... *per haec signa ingressuum faciliior studiosis patebit introitus*)⁵⁶ and in the final paragraph of the book (*Habebit tamen in his lectoris mei curiosa investigatio, et si non copiam satietatis, qua delectetur, qualemcumque causam inquisitionis, qua melius exerceatur*)⁵⁷. The profusion of citations from and references to such sources as the *Liber Pontificalis* and conciliar decrees would have made *De exordiis* a useful text for an instructor; the need for source-

⁵⁵ For the significance of this combination of a verse and prose preface to a treatise see below, 24.

⁵⁶ 6:481.5-6; translation, 68.

⁵⁷ 516.30-32; translation, 134.

texts was virtually eliminated. Still another indication of its function as a teaching text at Reichenau is its residence in the Reichenau library, as cited in Reginbert's 835-842 library catalogue, the only contemporary reference to the work. Although self-evident in the text, attention should also be drawn to further evidence for mid-ninth-century practice in Reichenau: Walahfrid's first person singular and plural use of verbs in certain contexts, i.e., 506.15 *dicimus*, 508.18 *putamus*, should not be dismissed as purely rhetorical.

Further evidence gleaned from a careful scrutiny of the text demonstrates that it was intended for use in teaching German⁵⁸ priests who would be caring for a rural parish with missionary concerns and who were likely to be isolated from a bishop.⁵⁹ I have been careful to designate *De exordiis* as a text for the use of teachers. It is unrealistic to assume that, except for the most exceptional person, students would have been able to cope with the level of Latin in this treatise. However, to judge by the small number of extant copies, it evidently failed to become a popular classroom text.

The variety and complexity of extant liturgical books used in Francia in the early ninth century have undergone considerable research and analysis (which has occasionally confused rather than clarified).⁶⁰ For the purpose of relating *De exordiis* to other contemporary liturgical texts, however, the latter can be divided here into two basic categories according to function. Books in one group incorporate highly selective

⁵⁸ See below, 48 for remarks on Walahfrid's approach to teaching German students.

⁵⁹ The problems of working in parishes without direct contact with the bishop are particularly evident in c.27.

⁶⁰ Probably the clearest and certainly the most valuable study of this complex matter of liturgical books, particularly in early ninth-century Francia, is C. Vogel (1986), with a full up-to-date bibliography; but see also CAP I-IV, esp. I, 7-57 and II, 41-135; SOL 220-240, 350-378.

material to be used by individual participants during the performance of liturgical actions: an antiphonary might contain all the texts to be sung at Mass by the choir; a lectionary would designate the readings for a service to be performed by a reader and a deacon; a sacramentary would contain the prayers the priest would need for the Mass throughout the year. Texts in the second category give directions for the performance of, or explain or interpret various ceremonies, e.g., the Mass, baptism, and the Liturgy of the Hours. In this section are the widely available and heavily used *Ordines Romani*: detailed instructions for carrying out the liturgy. Only a minority were in fact composed in Rome; all existing versions are those made since the eighth century to meet the needs of churches north of the Alps.⁶¹ Interpretations of the ceremonies, *expositiones missae* in particular, were important both for clergy and laity and were the concern of Walahfrid's contemporaries. *De exordiis* has been placed with treatises such as these in the MS collections.⁶²

Two of these treatises are particularly valuable for comparison with *De exordiis* and are cited in the commentary: *De institutione clericorum* (819) of Rhabanus Maurus, and the *Liber officialis* (c.833) of

⁶¹ *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge* 5 vols., have been magisterially edited by M. Andrieu (Louvain, 1931-61). For an excellent assessment and summary of each *Ordo* see C. Vogel (1986), 135-197.

⁶² St. Gallen Stiftsbibl. MS 446: fols. 213-303 *De exordiis*; the codex also includes several *ordines* (here used in an expository way); an *expositio missae*, matters relating to baptism, and other items of ecclesiastical interest.

Munich clm. 14581: fols. 65-77^v *De exordiis* cc.21-25, 28-30; the codex includes items found in St. Gallen 446.

Bamberg A.II, 53: fols. 84-107 *De exordiis* cc.21-25, 28-30; combined with a great variety of ecclesiastical items, e.g., *De baptismo*, *expositio symboli*, *De letania maiore*.

But in Munich clm. 17184 the complete text of *De exordiis* (fols. 1-72^v) was a complete and independent text (? Freising s. xi med.) and only combined with Hugh de Folieto, *De Ordine Claustris* (fols. 73-135) at Schäftlarn in the early fifteenth century.

Amalarius.⁶³ Books I and II of *De institutione clericorum* cover much of the same material as *De exordiis*: e.g., *Lib. I, c.xiv De vestimentis sacerdotalibus*; *Lib. II, c.xvii De ieiunio*; c.xxxiii *De ordine missae*, a basic exposition of the Mass.⁶⁴ But in general Rhabanus examines the topics more briefly and always with an expository aim.

The four books of *Liber officialis* overlap *De exordiis* in content, but Amalarius presents his material with a characteristically allegorical interpretation and with much more detail. He brought to its final stage of development the allegorical method of scriptural exegesis already established in the New Testament and adopted by the Fathers. The Fathers developed sacramental symbolism where the symbol referred directly to Christ. They also developed a typological view of the persons, events and institutions of the Old Testament whereby they prefigured, or were types of, persons, events and institutions in the New Testament. Walahfrid uses typological symbolism only twice in *De exordiis*: the passover lamb of the Old Testament prefigures Christ (chapter 19), and (uniquely) it also prefigures the protection of holy water (chapter 30).

Since both typological and sacramental symbolism refer to Christ, they can be considered to be analogous.⁶⁵ As the analogies between the Old Testament and New Testament developed, their relationship became a matter of course and their initial relationship through Christ was either omitted or set aside. Because the sacrifice of the Mass corresponded to the Old Testament sacrifices, Amalarius applied allegoresis to the Mass

⁶³ On the date of Rhabanus, *De institutione clericorum*, see D.J. Sheerin (1982), 304-316.

⁶⁴ PL 107, cols.322-324; see also *De sacris ordinibus* (between 822-832) and *De ordine missae*, (PL 107, cols.1117-1192).

⁶⁵ See St. Augustine's *Contra Faustum* 19.9 (CSEL 25, 507; PL 42, col.353) for a fully developed analogy between circumcision and baptism.

in elaborate and fanciful detail in *De officio missae*.⁶⁶ Although condemned by serious churchmen, it achieved enormous popularity at the time of its appearance and continued to be copied and read for the next several centuries.

His contemporary, the deacon Florus of Lyons, attacked Amalarius's interpretation of the Mass. Florus agreed that the institutions of the Old Testament prefigured the mystery of Christ. However, he argued that those of the New Testament had been established by Christ Himself and were simply part of the fulfilment. In refutation of *De officio missae* Florus wrote a straightforward *Expositio missae* (833), a theological explanation of each phrase of the Mass.⁶⁷

Although there is no documentary evidence for his opposition to *Liber officialis*, Walahfrid's admiration of and friendship with Florus seems to presuppose his support of Florus's view of theological exposition.⁶⁸ Could he have intended *De exordiis* to provide a balance for Amalarius's fanciful allegorical exegesis of the liturgy? If one looks for evidence in the chapters themselves, there is virtually none unless one reads irony or sarcasm into the prose preface (*singula mystice debeant vel possint intellegi*), a doubtful exercise at best. Walahfrid's use of allegory is infrequent and restrained as befits a historical approach.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ *Off.* III, (OLO II.255-386). For an excellent study of the development of allegorical symbolism see J. Chydenius (1965), esp. cc.1-5.

⁶⁷ For a brief account of the controversy between Amalarius and Florus see CAP I, 45-61 with full bibliography and references.

⁶⁸ See MGH *Poetae* II, 356-7.

⁶⁹ See commentary c.15:489.27.

De exordiis has also been labelled a theological treatise.⁷⁰

However, this translation and commentary demonstrates that although thoroughly trained in theology, Walahfrid never intended *De exordiis* to be an exposition of the liturgy.⁷¹ His theological references are well-integrated into this text, and provide ample evidence for his maturity of thought. For example, throughout the text he uses the word *gratia*, the heart of dogmatic theology, which examines the relationship between God's grace and man's free will and which had been an object of patristic inquiry since the fourth century. His assumptions point to an educated audience already schooled in theological exposition (i.e., clergy in the final stages of instruction; see above, 18-9).⁷²

Charlemagne's genuine concern for an enlightened clergy bore rich fruit in the subsequent decades of the early ninth century, and Walahfrid is a splendid example of the results of the educational reforms. His was the first generation in the Carolingian period to have early access to a wide range of literature, and one of the first generation of European writers, after a lapse of three hundred years, to demonstrate competence in the writing of Latin although German was his native tongue.

De exordiis is important evidence for the revival of classical learning in the ninth century, in particular for the study of the art of

⁷⁰ See ODCC s.v. WALAHFRID STRABO, 1454; see also M.F. McCarthy (1967), 768. But A.K. Ziegler correctly writes that *De exordiis* presents the historical origins of the liturgy (1967, 598).

⁷¹ Walahfrid's exegetical writings are ample evidence for his expertise in theology: e.g., his contributions to the later *Glossa ordinaria* (for the accurate evaluation of his contribution see B. Smalley [1952], 56-60); *Epitome commentariorum Rabani in Leviticum*, PL 114, cols.795-840; *Expositio in XX primos psalmos David*, PL 114, cols.751-794; *Homilia in initium Evangelii s. Mathaei*, PL 114, cols.849-862; *Expositio in quattuor Evangelia* PL 114, cols.862-915; *Sermo de subversione Hierusalem in cap. 19 Luc.*, PL 114, cols.965-974; *Sermo de omnibus sanctis 'Hodie delectissimi'*, PL 114, col.1130 - however, for the uncertainty about his authorship of this last text see K. Langosch (1953), 748.

⁷² See esp. cc.15-18 and c.27:512.

rhetoric. Walahfrid links us to the study of classical rhetoric, reaching at least as far back as Cicero, following the tradition that history is a branch of the art of rhetoric; that great and noble events should be presented in a language appropriate to the subject matter; and that this subject matter should be moulded into artistically contrived patterns. It follows naturally that Walahfrid views the liturgy as a kind of rhetoric in action. Its history was an inherently dignified subject worthy of the most harmonious combination of style and matter.⁷³

The two prefaces to *De exordiis* are models of rhetorical style. Rhetorical prefaces, which are common in the Carolingian period, have their origins in antiquity.⁷⁴ Their basic structure consists of a request, a dedication and an expression of unwillingness. This framework is constructed with rhetorical topoi, conventional modes of expression which were collected in antiquity for use in constructing a rhetorical argument.

In the early ninth century prefatory material was handled in a variety of ways: texts written in verse were commonly introduced with a prefatory poem or verses⁷⁵; prose prefaces preceded prose works⁷⁶; or a dedicatory letter often introduced a text.⁷⁷ The combination of a verse

⁷³ R.W. Southern (1970), 173-196, esp. 177-185.

⁷⁴ T. Janson (1964), 1-113. See also E. Curtius (1948), 79-105 and 407-413; G. Simon (1958), 52-119, and (1959/60), 73-153; L. Wallach (1959), 48-59.

⁷⁵ See, e.g., Alcuin's York Poem; Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen elegiacum in honorem Hludovici christianissimi Caesaris Augusti*; Aedilwulf, *De abbatibus*; Walahfrid, *De vita et fine Mammae monachi*.

⁷⁶ See, e.g., Alan of Farfa's prologue to his homiliaries; Walahfrid's prefaces to Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni* and Thegan's *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*; Florus's prologue to *Liber adversus Johannem Scotum*; Lupus of Ferrières's preface to *De vita S. Maximi*.

⁷⁷ See, e.g., Rhabanus Maurus, *Liber de computo*; the *Liber Officialis* of Amalarius is also preceded by a prose prologue written after the text was completed.

and prose preface was more unusual and probably indicated the importance the author gave to his work. *De exordiis* is the only text that Walahfrid introduced with two prefaces. Rhabanus Maurus included both before *De laudibus S. crucis*, *De clericorum institutione* and his *Martyrologium*, as did Smaragdus before *Liber in partibus Donati*.⁷⁸

Although the manner in which he was schooled remains a matter of conjecture and of inference from his own writings, there is substantial evidence for treatises on the art of rhetoric being available for his use in both St. Gallen and Reichenau library catalogues.⁷⁹ Both the mid-ninth-century St. Gallen library catalogue and the major 821-22 Reichenau catalogue list Isidore's *Etymologiae*, which deals with rhetoric in Book II, chapters 1-21, Bede's 'De schematibus et tropis' and Alcuin's *De rhetorica*. The Reichenau 821-22 catalogue also lists Cassiodorus's *Institutiones*, which has a section on rhetoric in Book II, chapter 16.

Walahfrid's own real interest in rhetoric both as a writer and teacher is underlined in some of the extracts in his *Vademecum*, copied after his years as a student in Reichenau and Fulda. In the hand identified as W IV, he copied three relevant extracts from Isidore's *Etymologiae*: 'De accentibus', 'De figuris accentuum', and 'De posituris'; hand B, associated with W IV, copied Bede's 'De schematibus et tropis'.⁸⁰

One unexpected influence was the historian Livy, who followed Cicero's precepts for writing rhetorical historiography.⁸¹ But the prob-

⁷⁸ See Bibliography of Sources for editions of the works just cited.

⁷⁹ This and the MS material have been examined for the period immediately after Walahfrid's death by L.M. de Rijk (1963), 35-86.

⁸⁰ B. Bischoff (1950); rpt. in MAS II (1967), 39-40.

⁸¹ For Cicero on rhetoric and history see *De oratore*, II.62-62 (ed. O. Harnecker [1965], II, 333-338). I owe the recognition of the influence of Livy on Walahfrid's style and the subsequent argument to my Latin tutor, Dr. Adrian Gratwick. For Livy's use of the art of rhetoric see A. McDonald (1957), 155-172, and R. Ogilvie (1982), 458-466.

lems of pinpointing the works of Livy that would have been available to Walahfrid in his student years at Reichenau and Fulda appear insurmountable. There is no satisfactory extant library catalogue for Fulda, and no work of Livy appears in either Reichenau or St. Gallen library lists before 850.⁸² However, there is a strong possibility that Walahfrid had access to the Puteanus manuscript of Livy's third decade at the palace scriptorium. The fact that it was copied both at Tours c.800 and at Corbie c.850, two monasteries with strong connections with the Aachen palace, suggests that it resided in the palace library.⁸³ Lorsch, another monastery which enjoyed the special patronage of Charlemagne, housed the fifth decade of Livy in the ninth century; perhaps it too was a copy of a palace library text that had been available for Walahfrid's use.⁸⁴ In any case, Walahfrid's style itself is the most positive evidence that he had read and been taught from Livy's writings.

Characteristic of Walahfrid's style is a wide vocabulary, clarity of meaning, balanced phrases and a leisurely pace that reads aloud well. The expressive voice of a poet moves through the chapters making the distinction between prose and verse somewhat blurred. Antithesis and hyperbaton enrich the imagery and control the flow of the sometimes long and elaborate sentences packed with dependent phrases and clauses. This is particularly marked in the chapters, or portions of chapters, in which Walahfrid interprets the material or instructs his reader (e.g., 17 and 23: 497.29-38). However, there are also instances where he prefers more terse expressions, where the participle rather than the dependent clause bears the weight as in *persuasi erroris* (2:476.16). Sections of straight

⁸² L.D. Reynolds presented a detailed evaluation of the difficulties in *Texts and Transmission* (1983), 205-214.

⁸³ B. Bischoff (1964), 42-62; rpt. in MAS III (1981), 149-169, esp. 168-9.

⁸⁴ L.D. Reynolds (1983), 214.

reporting follow the tradition of annalistic form, short sentences and a simple unelaborate style (e.g., 5:478.31-479.5).

Although Walahfrid writes stylistically within the rhetorical tradition, as a historian he makes a dramatic break from the rhetorical conventions for presenting historical truth. Historians from Cicero on through the Carolingian period sought to influence the thought and behaviour of their audience while presenting actual events. The tools of classical rhetoric shaped their material: *inventio*, finding the means of persuasion, was the primary technique, verisimilitude the key. The theory of rhetorical invention is not primarily designed to discover the truth, but to find ways to alter real events to some effect. Bede in the early eighth century and Einhard in the early ninth are two of Walahfrid's predecessors who fit into the tradition of rhetorical historiography and whom Walahfrid has demonstrably read. He uses Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* as a source-text in chapter 14. Indeed, he added a prose preface to Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*.⁸⁵

In contrast, Walahfrid presents his liturgical *exordia et incrementa* in the manner of a modern historian whose aim is to present historical facts based on accurately cited sources. This is not to say, however, that persuasion found no place in *De exordiis*. Unexpectedly, his concern over pastoral difficulties is evident in several chapters, and he marshals his evidence in order to influence the attitudes and actions of his audience. These pastoral concerns are liturgically interesting and important in the way they present specific problems locally. But Walahfrid is primarily involved here with the presentation of

⁸⁵ See E. Curtius (1948), 62-75 and *passim*, still the most remarkable general study of the influence of classical rhetoric on medieval European literature. But for a recent investigation into the early development of rhetorical historiography see R. Ray (1986), 67-84.

liturgical development substantiated by the precedent of time-honoured authority.

Not surprisingly, the long tradition of Christian historiography, which sees the design of God in history, is a fundamental aspect of his thought. An integral part of this design, and the subject of *De exordiis*, chapter 13, is the view that earthly calamities are God's punishment upon sinning man. Three works which were fundamental to the development of a Christian view of history are Eusebius, *Ecclesiastica Historia* (translated into Latin by Rufinus), Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, and Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri vii*.⁸⁶ They were all named in the 821-22 Reichenau catalogue and indeed were probably used as teaching texts during Walahfrid's intellectually formative years there. Again, in his *Vademecum* we see the maturing of his thought in the area of Christian historiography, for here are extracts from the *Historiae* of Eusebius and Orosius copied in his mature hand, 'W IV'. Among his many precursors are Bede, who saw the catastrophes afflicting the British people as caused by their turning away from God,⁸⁷ and Alcuin, who saw the 793 Viking invasion of Lindesfarne as God's wrath turned upon sinning mortals.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ R. Hanning (1966), 1-43 with full bibliography.

⁸⁷ Bede, HE, I.xxii-xxiii.

⁸⁸ See Alcuin's letters to Ethelred, king of Northumbria and to the congregation at Lindisfarne (MGH *Epp.* IV, nos. 16, 20).

DATING OF *DE EXORDIIS*

Attributing a precise date for the writing and/or completion of *De exordiis* is not possible with the evidence at present available. If Walahfrid or his scribe had attached a colophon to the text including a date of completion, it was not copied. As stated above, its listing in Reginbert's library catalogue, which unfortunately carries no dating, is the only contemporary citation. Nevertheless, internal evidence in both the treatise and Reginbert's list allow its composition to be narrowly defined between 840 and 842.⁸⁹ Assuming the chapters were written in chronological order, the *terminus post quem* must be just before or just after the death of Louis the Pious on June 20, 840: chapter 8 includes the phrase, *temporibus bonae memoriae Ludowici*.

For the *terminus ante quem* Reginbert's list must be consulted. He introduces himself as librarian under abbots Waldo (787-806), Heito (806-822), Erlebold (823-838) and Ruadhelm (838-842). The list must have been written sometime after 835 since it lists a book which Reginbert acquired from Bishop Ulrich *post finem vitae suae* (he died in 835); it must have been completed in or before 842, the last year of Ruadhelm's abbacy. The forty-first and penultimate volume entered in the list contained, in addition to various expositions of the mass and an *ordo romanus*, *Walafridi libellus, qualiter ordo ecclesiasticus ... et quomodo per temporum augmentationes sit multiplicatus in diversis*. The mention of *De exordiis* in the catalogue could eliminate a dating before 842, although of course library catalogues are often added to and brought up to date.

In the introduction to the 1897 edition of *De exordiis* Krause used a phrase in the verse preface to establish the *terminus ante quem*: *pauper hebesque* indicated to him a state of economic poverty which could have

⁸⁹ Attention should be brought to the unfortunate error in dating *De exordiis* to 828 in C. Heitz (1987), 610-630, here 625.

described Walahfrid's likely condition while in exile. However, I suggest another interpretation which has no bearing on material poverty. Well-schooled in rhetorical tradition Walahfrid could simply be using *pauper* as a topos referring to his intellectual capabilities: *Walafridus pauper hebesque*, 'poor and stupid Walahfrid'. Note the similarity to *pro modulo tarditatis et ignaviae* (15:489.14).

SOURCES OF WALAHFRID

In their exegetical works most Carolingian authors used their sources in a straightforward and unimaginative manner extracting and combining Biblical and Patristic quotations to build an expository structure. 'To study the commentaries of Alcuin, Claudius of Turin, Rhabanus Maurus and Walahfrid Strabo, his pupil, to mention outstanding names, is simply to study their sources.'⁹⁰ However, subsequent work has suggested that at least the first-named and last-named extracted and paraphrased in an independent way⁹¹, and Walahfrid's extraordinary use of his *authoritates* to construct a historical account is a marked departure from established convention.

Is it possible to indicate where Walahfrid assembled the material in *De exordiis*? The book was completed only four years after he left his post at Aachen as tutor to Prince Charles.⁹² If one takes into consideration the demands upon time and energy the new position of abbot would have made upon the man, coupled with the upheaval of exile from 840-842, it seem unlikely that the treatise could have been compiled under such circumstances. A more reasonable view is that it is a reorganization and culmination of an approach to the liturgy he had previously developed for his royal pupil at Aachen.

In his 1897 edition Krause was successful in identifying several of the sources for *De exordiis*. Of course it is now possible to go well beyond Krause's annotations; but because some passages still remain unidentified (see commentaries on chapters 2-3, 5, 8, 23, 25-27), the

⁹⁰ B. Smalley (1952), 24.

⁹¹ For Alcuin see D.A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, c.4; see below, 35 for the variety of Walahfrid's techniques.

⁹² Dates for the completion of *De exordiis* have been argued above, 29 -30.

number of different texts certainly used by the author remains about the same. The most striking aspect of the material, however, is the range rather than the quantity of citations. Excluding Biblical, liturgical and canon law quotations, Walahfrid cites 23 different Patristic, didactic and historical texts. Consistent with his prefatory remarks, *Scribam igitur ... ex authenticorum dictis* (475.22), only 3 of his sources were the works of Carolingian authors.

A tabulation of Walahfrid's source-citations may provide the means for determining where he used them.⁹³ Nothing is known about the library at Speyer which would help to identify whether any of his source-texts were used there. There is one interesting pointer, however, in the lack of citations from the *Liber Pontificalis* until chapter 19 (see commentary on that chapter, p. 197). This might indicate that chapters 1-18 had been written without access to the text since the *Liber Pontificalis* is a likely source for some of the subject matter of the earlier chapters e.g., chapter 9: 'The Dedication of Temples and Altars'.⁹⁴ In which case chapters 19-32 were probably put into their final form at a centre with the *Liber Pontificalis* at hand, namely Speyer.

The distance from Speyer to either St. Gallen or Reichenau makes it highly improbable that any but the most exceptional citation could have been made from texts sent to Walahfrid from either library during this period at Speyer. The possibility has been raised that during his exile he had spent some time in Murbach where he may have had access to the books and initiated the cataloguing of the library.⁹⁵ There is no good

⁹³ See Table of Sources, 52a-4.

⁹⁴ See index of LP III, *dedicatio*.

⁹⁵ M. Manitius (1911), 304.

evidence for such a hypothesis and Walahfrid's supposed connection with the catalogue at Murbach has recently been categorically denied.⁹⁶

As noted above (p. 15), Walahfrid's *Vademecum*, St. Gallen MS 878, contains almost none of the source material used in *De exordiis*. Similarly, although the collection of books at the court of Louis the Pious can be reconstructed only indirectly and incompletely, there is no evidence for any of Walahfrid's source-texts in the palace library.⁹⁷

I have previously drawn attention (see above, 5¹¹) to the exceptional early to mid-ninth-century library catalogues of the monasteries of Reichenau and St. Gallen, two centres of learning with which Walahfrid had intimate connections up to and including his years at court.⁹⁸ All but five or six of the twenty-three works cited ^{in *De Exordiis*} are contained in these lists. Could Walahfrid have had access to the libraries while living and working at Aachen? His post at Court, begun at the age of twenty or twenty-one and completed when he was nearing thirty, encompassed a significant and formative period for his intellect and character, as demonstrated by the sections of St. Gallen MS 878 copied by or for W IV (see above, 15), and by the poetry written while at the palace.⁹⁹ The position of tutor was important and stimulating, his tutorials worthy of his most scholarly effort. He could have assembled another liturgical *Vademecum* or made a written version of his tutorials at Aachen (now lost), based on written material compiled from available source-texts. It is possible to infer his methodology from his extant *Vademecum*:

⁹⁶ W. Milde (1968) 30¹²⁸; see also P. von Winterfeld, (1902), 527f.

⁹⁷ B. Bischoff (1976), 3-22; rpt. in MAS III (1981), 170-186.

⁹⁸ For the close relationship between Reichenau and St. Gallen see 9³¹.

⁹⁹ MGH *Poetae* II, 350-412. Precise dating of many of the poems may be impossible, but see M. Manitius (1911), 303-304; K. Langosch (1953), 762-763 with references; P. Godman (1985), 33-39.

excerpts were in general meticulously cited by author and/or title, e.g., fol. 380, *Excerptum de Libro Orosii*; fol. 91, *Incipiunt capitula libri Bedae de arte metrica*.

Grimald, Walahfrid's former teacher at Reichenau, chaplain at Aachen from 826 and future abbot of St. Gallen (from 841) would have been an invaluable contact: he would have known the contents of both libraries and could have ensured that the essential texts were sent to the young teacher. Equally important would have been Walahfrid's close relationship with Reginbert, Reichenau librarian since the abbacy of Waldo (786-806), and to whom *De exordiis* is dedicated. Both Grimald and Reginbert would certainly have encouraged and cooperated with the burgeoning career of their protégé.

The Table of Sources (pp. 52a-4) records ^{Walahfrid used} source-texts/and indicates the catalogues in which they occur. The most significant piece of evidence is the list of those books in the Reichenau book room in 821-22 (R1) which could indeed have been used by Walahfrid. For example, the lack of Bede's *De templo* and Cassiodorus's *Ecclesiastica Historia* in this catalogue (R1) demonstrates that he was compelled to use the library at St. Gallen for these particular sources. I have attempted to identify an extant MS of a source-text with an entry in the St. Gallen catalogue (G) and Reichenau catalogue, 821-22 (R1). I have then tried to indicate 1) if he could have used the MS or 2) if not, whether there is another extant MS which he could have used that includes the text. If texts of two of his sources exist in one extant MS which was available for his use (e.g., R1: Cyprian's *De dominica oratione* and Gennadius's *Liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum*), it is arguable that he would have used the one MS for his source-text.

The detail with which some of the codices are described in the library catalogues allows some measure of certainty of their identification with an extant MS in the Table, e.g., R1: *De opusculis sancti*

Cypriani episcopi ... de bello Judaico libri V excerpti de historia Josephi; De opusculis sancti Augustini ... Enchiridion volumen I; Canon et dogmata ecclesiastica Gennadii episcopi et aenigmata Symphosii in codice I. Exact quotations have made it possible to attempt identification of a particular MS tradition: see e.g., Commentary 8:483-5. See now Table of Sources, 52^a4.

Walahfrid developed several techniques for incorporating his sources into the text:

citation with text and author:

ut testatur Socrates in historia sua ecclesiastica, ubi de diversis ecclesiarum consuetudinibus faciens mentionem post multas ieiuniorum et solemnitatum varietates haec inter cetera ponit: 'Sed etiam ... communicant (20:492.16-24).

citation with author but not text:

ut beatus Hieronimus ait, superstitiosum est parietes auro fulgere et Christum ante ianuas fame et nuditate torqueri (14:488.20-21).

citation with text but not author:

Haec in decimo libro Historiae ecclesiasticae, quae tripartita dicitur, ita feruntur, quibus et hoc subnectitur paulo inferius: 'Dicendum ... ecclesias' (26:505. 33-506.2).

incorporation of source and author into text:

In officiis quoque, quae beatus Benedictus abba omni sanctitate praecipuus ordinavit, ymni dicuntur per horas canonicas, quos ipse Ambrosianos nominans vel illos vult intellegi, quos confecit Ambrosius, vel alios ad imitationem Ambrosianorum compositos (26:506. 29-32).

allusion to a source:

antequam diversorum contra eum scribentium iaculis perfoderetur (8:483.6).

incorporation of a source into the text without any reference:

Domus autem dicta est a domate, quod Grece tectum vocatur. Dicitur etiam domus familiae totius sub uno tecto commorantis consortium, sicut urbs totius populi et orbis totius generis humani est domicilium (6:479. 25-27).

Two major groups of citations need special attention, those from the Bible and canon law. A proper treatment of his Biblical citations

would involve detailed comparison with his exegetical works; but since a Scriptural index to all his works has yet to be compiled, such a study has not been attempted here. The eighty-six obvious Biblical quotations, however, allow valuable observations of a more general kind. Not surprisingly Walahfrid quotes directly from the Bible in all but seven chapters of *De exordiis*; in six of those seven chapters he includes Biblical allusions or paraphrases - the one chapter which contains no Biblical references at all has a word count of 25! In a work of this length the number of Biblical citations is strikingly small, but is accounted for by the historical nature of the text.

The precise text of the Bible which Walahfrid used when writing *De exordiis* is not known, but it most certainly was based on the Vulgate edition, the Latin Bible that has been in common use in the western Church since the eleventh century, for the most part the work of St. Jerome between 383 and 405. I refer the reader to the 1985 Fischer edition of *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*¹⁰⁰ for a clear, concise statement of the history of the text and the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* for elaboration on historical details. An excellent summary of the Douai-Reims Bible, from which all translations of the Biblical quotations in *De exordiis* are taken, occurs in ODCC s.v.

For the sake of clarifying some basic problems confronting the Protestant reader most familiar with the King James Version a few words are in order here to explain several of the Biblical citations.

Books I and II of Kings are structurally a continuation of Samuel. The Septuagint (LXX), a Greek translation of a Hebrew text made between 250 B.C. and the first century B.C. by a group of widely differing translators, divided the Hebrew book of Samuel into two parts to fit onto two scrolls. These were further divided into four Books of Kingdoms, *Libri*

¹⁰⁰ Ed. B. Fischer 2 vols., I, xx-xxiv.

regum or Kings I-IV. There now remains a confusing mixture of the names of the four books: Kings I-IV (Douai-Reims Version, a sixteenth century English translation of the Latin Vulgate); Samuel I and II, Kings I and II (Authorized Version); Samuel I and II, Kings (abbreviated Rg) III and IV (Vulgate Version). In this thesis I have followed the Vulgate usage.

The Apocrypha designates those books of the Bible received by the Early Church as part of the Greek version of the Old Testament, but not included in the Hebrew Bible, being excluded by the non-Hellenistic Jews from their Canon. Jerome, through his Eastern contacts and Hebrew studies, introduced the term *apocrypha* or *Libri canonici* (Genesis, Exodus, etc.). Since the King James version is based solely upon Hebrew sources, it omits the Apocryphal books. An important liturgical omission from the King James Version for the early medieval student, for example, is Daniel 3:24-90 and Daniel 13:1 because there is no Hebrew source. In the Vulgate and versions derived from it, the Apocryphal books are mostly part of the Old Testament.

Jerome translated the Psalter three times. The first c.383 was done hastily (*curim*) on the basis of the LXX: its identification with the 'Roman' Psalter of medieval MSS was challenged by Dom de Bruyne in 1930¹⁰¹ although some scholars still hold to the former view. Then c.392 Jerome revised his earlier translation on the basis of the Hexaplaric Greek text of the LXX. The Hexapla was an elaborate version of the Old Testament produced by Origen between 231-c.245 with nine columns of various Greek and Hebrew texts arranged side by side. Possibly under the influence of Gregory of Tours (c.540-94) this version became popular in Gaul, hence its name Gallican, (or *Iuxta LXX*). Jerome's final translation was made c.400 from the Hebrew. This Hebrew Psalter never gained wide popularity. Under the influence of Alcuin the

¹⁰¹D. De Bruyne (1930), 101.

Gallican Psalter displaced the Hebrew in almost all subsequent Biblical manuscripts of the Vulgate.

As already noted, the range of Walafrid's knowledge of liturgical matters is remarkable; he shows a similar range in the scope of his Biblical citations, although of course not as exceptional. The Old Testament citations are taken from only 15 of the 42 Old Testament books. This selection represents all four sections: the Pentateuch, the Historical Books, the Wisdom Books and the Prophets.¹⁰² Similarly his 14 selections from the 21 New Testament books represent all five divisions of the New Testament: the Gospels, Acts, the Pauline Epistles, the Catholic epistles and the Book of Revelation.¹⁰³

In general these quotations are standard Vulgate; nevertheless in some Old Testament books the quotation points to a non-standard Vulgate text. Thus, Genesis is a *Vetus Latina*¹⁰⁴ quotation, and the divergencies in Exodus demonstrate a non-standard Vulgate text. The same is true of the quotations from the New Testament where there is an occasional deviation from standard Vulgate, such as Acts which is strongly *Vetus Latina*, and Corinthians I and II which diverge from non-standard Vulgate in ways that do not allow a family of texts to be identified. The deviations from the Vulgate are noted in the Commentary.

¹⁰² The fifteen Old Testament books from which Walafrid's citations are taken are Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, I Samuel, III Kings, Esther, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Micah, Zechariah, and I Maccabees.

¹⁰³ The fourteen books from which Walafrid's New Testament citations are taken are Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, I Corinthians, II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Titus, Hebrews, James, I Peter, and the Apocalypse.

¹⁰⁴ The *Vetus Latina* signifies the Latin versions of the Scriptures in use in the Church before they were superseded by the Vulgate. For an excellent summary of its complex history and modern editions in progress, e.g., at Beuron, see B. Peebles (1967), 436-439.

The greatest number of citations are from the Psalter, the heart of that great cycle of prayers, readings and hymns that make up the Liturgy of the Hours. Chanted in its entirety each week, it was a text of inestimable influence on speech patterns and habits of thought (see commentary 2:476.31).¹⁰⁵ Nearly all quotations are from the Gallican Version. In ninth-century Francia, this version was admitted to the standard Vulgate; it was also used in the liturgy. The variations do not point to any standard version.¹⁰⁶

In tracing liturgical development and examining the suitability of one liturgical action over another, Walahfrid relies heavily on the authority of conciliar decrees. They underpin his argument throughout the book¹⁰⁷ and range over matters as diverse as the dedication of churches, baptism and fasting before communion. Whereas the number of biblical citations and references in the text is small compared with other early medieval ecclesiastical treatises, his use of canon law is extensive: he cites 32 conciliar decrees and seven papal decretals; he makes 19 additional general references to rulings in canons and decretals.

Can the canon-law texts he used be identified with specific collections or MSS? Modern printed editions of conciliar canons, unfortunately, are not arranged to assist in the investigation of ninth-century collections of ecclesiastical decrees.¹⁰⁸ The library catalogues

¹⁰⁵ RB c.18.

¹⁰⁶ For variations of the Psalter, and for clarification of some basic problems confronting the Protestant reader most familiar with the King James Version of the Bible or modern revisions see above, 36-7.

¹⁰⁷ See cc.6, 11, 16, 18, 20, 23, 26-29 and 31-32.

¹⁰⁸ Most recent editions of conciliar canons relevant to *De exordiis* are the *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, the *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, the *Concilia Africae* a.345-524, ed. C. Munier, CCSL 149 and the *Concilia Galliae* a.314-695, ed. C. Munier, CCSL 148 and 148A; for conciliar decrees in the Hispana collections, see CCH III and IV.

of both St. Gallen and Reichenau list collections of canon law, but none of the entries are detailed enough to allow the identification of a particular MS. The St. Gallen list refers to them in general terms: *Concilia principalia XII et decretales et epistolae pontificum Romanorum, volumen I. Item excerptum de canonibus, volumen I ... Liber canonum ecclesiasticorum sive statutorum sinodi Nicenae* (MBDS, 79). The Reichenau list is more specific: *Inprimis liber I. praegrandis, in quo continentur ... diversi canones, id est Graeciae, Africae, Galliae, Hispaniaeque; postea decretales epistolae antistitum Romanorum ...* (MBDS, 258).¹⁰⁹

It is arguable, however, on the basis of certain citations in the text, that Walahfrid had two collections of conciliar decrees at his disposal, a version of the *Hispana* and a copy of *Dionysius III*.

An understanding of the content and function of these two collections must proceed from a summary account of their development. It was rooted in the early Church's need for rulings on communal problems. As the primitive church grew both in members and in organizational structure, assemblies were held to examine controversies and decide wider questions such as the date of Easter. Statements from the Bible, rulings of councils and bishops, and pontifical decisions which Walahfrid calls *decretales*, made up the body of early canon law. As this material multiplied, it was gathered into collections which were as diverse as the collector, his purpose, his geographical location and the period in which he lived. This process began as early as the late first or early second century and continued throughout east and west for the next four centuries.

¹⁰⁹ It should be noted, however, that there is no mention of Walahfrid or of MSS from Reichenau or St. Gallen in J. Autenrieth and R. Kottje, *Kirchenrechtliche Texte im Bodenseegebiet, Mittelalterliche Überlieferung in Konstanz, auf der Reichenau und in St. Gallen*, (Sigmaringen, 1975).

At the turn of the fifth century the Western church instituted a major revision and standardization of canon law. The most famous and influential result of this reorganization is the *Collectio Dionysiana*, the collection compiled in Rome by the Scythian monk Dionysius Exiguus.¹¹⁰ The most important characteristics of his collection are the excellence of the texts he compiled, his translation of Greek into Latin where necessary, and his attempt to arrange the material according to source and in chronological order with some effort to organize the material systematically. It contains fifty of the apostolic canons, the canons of many of the Eastern councils, including the ecumenical councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Chalcedon, and canons attributed to the Council of Carthage of 419. The *Collectio Dionysiana* also includes a collection of papal decrees from Siricius (384-98) to Anastasius II (496-8). Its first edition, which I shall call *Dionysius I*, is known for the inclusion of rulings from 'the council of Carthage of 419'. His second edition, which was its classic form and which I shall call *Dionysius II*, included several councils of Carthage before 419. *Dionysius II* formed the basis for the Dionysio-Hadriana, an eighth-century collection sent by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne and accepted by the Frankish Church at Aachen in 802. I shall call this *D-H*.

A second widely distributed collection of ecclesiastical decrees relevant to Walahfrid's commentary is the *Collectio hispana chronologica*, the origins of which are disputed, but which was probably compiled in Spain in the sixth and seventh centuries. This collection is also known as the *Pseudo-Isidoriana*, having been wrongly attributed from the ninth century onwards to Isidore of Spain. The *Hispana* is an extensive collection which includes Greek, African, Gallican and Spanish conciliar canons arranged geographically and then chronologically. It also contains papal

¹¹⁰ Good surveys in O. Bardenhewer (1932), 224-228; F. Cross (1960), 227-247; B. Altaner (1966), 251, 480.

decretals from Damasus I (366-384) to Gregory I (c.540-604) arranged in historical order. Canon law manuscripts of the sixth to the ninth centuries have these two major collections, *D-H* and the *Hispana*, behind them, with particular deletions and additions according to their function.¹¹¹

Although it is difficult to pinpoint the manuscript tradition with any accuracy, it is possible at least to confirm that Walahfrid had before him a version of *D-H* and a version of the *Hispana*: six of Walahfrid's citations in particular could be taken from these two collections. The precision of *legitur in canonibus concilii Africani, capitulo VIII. his verbis: Ut sacramenta altaris non nisi a ieiunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die anniversario, quo caena Domini celebratur, et reliqua* (c.20:492.8-9), is a key witness for his use of *Dionysius III*.¹¹² His second citation from the African councils, *Ergo quia omnes, quos gratia non liberat, pereunt in originali delicto, etiam, qui sui sceleris non adiecerunt augmenta, necessario parvuli baptizantur; quod ... Africana testantur concilia* (c.27:512.8-11), indicates the likelihood that both quotations are taken from the same collection, *Dionysius III*.

There are four citations from councils at Carthage. Three of these, one forbidding women to baptize, one from a ruling on baptizands who were ill -- with wording identical to Walahfrid's -- and one requiring baptism of those whose baptismal status is uncertain, are found only

¹¹¹ In R. Reynolds's history of canon law collections he proposes the distinction between *fontes materiales* and *fontes formales* to clarify sources and collections (Reynolds [1986], 395-413).

For current material on Medieval Canon Law see *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law, New Series* (Berkeley, California, 1971ff.), especially the Select Bibliography, e.g., Select Bibliography III. Collections, codifications, decretals, legislation; Select Bibliography VI. Councils and synods.

¹¹² See CCSL 149, the table on p.178.

in a version of the *Hispana*.¹¹³ Although the remaining quotation is found in other collections as well as in the *Hispana*,¹¹⁴ it seems almost certain that this one collection would have served as a source for all citations from the Carthage councils.

¹¹³ Walahfrid, c.27:510.16: *in concilio Carthaginensi mulieres prohibeantur baptizare*; see only the council at Carthage IIII, c.100: *Mulier baptizare non praesumat* (CCH III, 373).

C.27:510.23-24: *Eos autem, de quibus incertum est, id est qui nullo testimonio probare possunt se esse baptizatos, ex concilio Carthaginensi ... discimus baptizari debere*; see only the council at Carthage V, c.6 (CCH III, 381).

Walahfrid, c.27:512.24-25: *synodus Carthaginensis baptizandos statuit aegrotos, qui iam loqui non possunt, cum voluntatis eorum testimonium sui dixerint, aut ipsi aliquibus signis comprobare potuerint*; see only in the council at Carthage III, c.34: *Ut aegrotantes si pro se respondere non possunt, cum voluntatis eorum testimonium sui dixerint, baptizentur* (CCL 149, 335; CCH III, 329).

Compare the ruling in *Breviarium Hipponense*, c.32: *Ut aegrotantes, si pro se respondere non possunt, cum voluntatis eorum testimonium sui periculo proprio dixerint, baptizentur* (CCL 149, 42) and in *Registri ecclesiae Carthaginensis excerpta*, c.45: *Ut aegrotantes qui pro se respondere non possunt, cum voluntatis eorum testimonium sui periculo proprio dixerint, baptizentur* (CCL 149, 186).

¹¹⁴ *Ideoque credimus conciliis Carthaginensi et Melivitano statutum, ut preces et orationes a quibuslibet compositae, nisi probatae fuissent in concilio, non dicerentur* (23:498.29) is cited both in *Breviarium Hipponense*, c.21b (CCL 149, 39) and in the council at Milevitanus, c.13 (CCH III, 445).

LINGUISTIC INTERESTS OF WALAHFRID

Interspersed with his evolutionary account of the liturgy, Walahfrid demonstrates a typically Carolingian interest in linguistics, directly connected in this case to his role as a teacher. In fact, two early chapters of *De exordiis* give him a special place in this curiosity about the origins of words and about other languages.

Educational reforms had ensured the mastery of Latin¹¹⁵; Greek and Hebrew were acknowledged its equals in status if not in practical expertise since Latin-Greek and Latin-Hebrew grammars were virtually nonexistent. The Greek alphabet was widely known and copied, however, and was used to represent numbers.¹¹⁶ Walahfrid had copied Greek, runic and Hebrew alphabets into his *Vademecum*, including the numerical equivalents of Greek letters. Although he cannot be considered fluent in Greek, he uses *heresis* and *synaxeos* in their correct grammatical syntax in chapter 23:497.10 and 498.22, and makes etymological references to Greek in chapters 6, 7 and 25, occasionally following Isidore's *Etymologiae*. Also drawing on the *Etymologiae* he makes three references to word origins from Hebrew in chapter 7.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ See P. Riché (1978), 214-20 and 222-36; see also the provocative and only partially acceptable views of R. Wright (1982).

A key text is Charlemagne's (and [?] Alcuin's) circular letter *De litteris colendis* on which most recently see T. Martin, (1985), 227-272.

For the related building up of libraries with Latin patristic and classroom texts see B. Bischoff (1972), 385-416, rpt. in MAS III (1981), 213-233; for Walahfrid's *Vademecum*, see MAS III (1981), 221.

¹¹⁶ See R.E. McNally (1958), 395-403 and (1959), 47-52; M. Thiel (1973); B. Bischoff, (1951), 27-55; rpt. in MAS II (1967), 227-245; W. Berschin (1980).

¹¹⁷ See also Smaragdus, *Liber in partibus Donati: De genere*, c.2 for some Greek origins and c.7 for comparisons between endings of names in Latin and Hebrew (CCCM 68, pp.44-5, 53).

Etymologies and glosses are the two significant indications of this ninth-century linguistic interest. Used to deepen understanding, word origins found a place in most expository texts. This etymological practice had its roots in Isidore's *Differentiae*, a work which anticipated his widely available and influential *Etymologiae*. An encyclopedia of knowledge, the latter derived its name from the etymological explanations of the words denoting the different subjects. It was regarded as a part of grammar¹¹⁸ and basic to medieval education, 'for if you know the origin of a word, you more quickly understand its force. Everything can be more clearly comprehended when its etymology is known'.¹¹⁹ Frequently, however, an author cited Isidore's word origin and then added more etymological material (perhaps his own or from another source) to suit his own particular exposition.¹²⁰

It is apparent that etymologies of words were an integral part of texts used in the classroom, but no early-medieval works that seek to expound methods of teaching have survived - if they ever existed.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ For example, see Smaragdus, *Liber in partibus Donati*, (CCCM 68, pp.44.57-59, 45.63-65); see also *Index grammaticorum et rhetorum*, 275 for a full list of his use of the *Etym*.

¹¹⁹ *Nam dum videris unde ortum est nomen, citius vim eius intellegis. Omnis enim rei inspectio etymologia cognita planior est* (*Etym.* I.xxix.2). The new collective edition of the *Etymologiae* (*Auteurs Latins du Moyen Age*, 1981ff.) with either French or English language translations does not so far include Liber I; Isidore's own approach to Grammatica is exhaustively considered by J. Fontaine (1959 and 1983).

For the dissemination of Isidore see B. Bischoff (1961a), 317-344; rpt. in MAS I (1966), 171-194; see also L.D. Reynolds (1983), 194-96; M. Amsler (1989) appeared too late to be used. For a good general survey of Carolingian usage of Isidore, see the index entry under Isidore in M. Manitius (1911), 746.

For Walahfrid's use of the *Etymologiae* in *De exordiis* see commentaries on cc.5, 6, 7, 10, 18 and 25.

¹²⁰ See e.g. Rhabanus Maurus, *De cler. instit.*, I.xxi, 'De casula': cp. *Etym.* XIX.cciv.17; the letter from Ermenricus to Grimald, c.3 (MGH *Epp.* V, 537): cp. *Etym.* XI.i.9. For Walahfrid's use of this particular adaptation of the *Etym.* see commentary on chapter 6, 151-2.

¹²¹ P. Riché (1962), 510.

Nonetheless, in chapter 6 Walahfrid presents an example of how the etymological approach could be used.¹²² Chapters 1-5 presented the origins of sacred places and buildings and of some of their components. His introductory words to chapter 6 need little elaboration. *Haec a nobis, ut potuimus, dicta sint; nunc de nominibus, quae ipsis sacris locis vel aedificiis non fortuito, sed rationabiliter imposita sunt, pauca dicamus, ut lector, dum causas aedificiorum et exordia didicerit, cur etiam ita vel ita dicta sint, possit advertere.*¹²³

Scrupulous in his scholarly approach he emphasizes that the word origins (in a historical and liturgical context) are developed *non fortuito, sed rationabiliter*. The bulk of the chapter presents the etymologies and finishes by addressing the needs of students. *Quia vero longum est singulas sacrarum aedium partes exponendo percurrere - multiplex est enim in eis aequae, ut in ceteris structuris, nominum et specierum diversitas - sufficiant haec de eminentioribus earum partibus dicta. Ad cetera, quae restant, per haec signa ingressuum facilius studiosis patebit introitus.*¹²⁴ This is a significant addition to our understanding of Carolingian pedagogy.

Equally noteworthy are the Latin lexica and etymologies offered by Walahfrid in this chapter. Some of the latter are demonstrably derived from Isidore; others equally clearly are not. It remains uncertain how far Walahfrid was here reflecting Carolingian common-places, perhaps using unidentified written sources, and how much was his personal contribution.¹²⁵

¹²² See above, 45.

¹²³ c.6:479.8-11; translation, 64.

¹²⁴ c.6:481.2-6; translation, 68.

¹²⁵ For a fuller discussion see commentary on chapter 6, 150-57.

Although Carolingian scholars wrote almost exclusively in Latin, in the beginning of the ninth century a growing interest in and use of the vernacular appears in a variety of their texts, especially versions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and other texts essential to worship or belief.¹²⁶ In c.29 of his *Vita Karoli* Einhard reports that Charlemagne ordered the Old High German *grammatica patrii sermonis* compiled, and in the same chapter he lists the names of the months and winds in Latin and German.¹²⁷ Lupus of Ferrières inquires about the teaching of German.¹²⁸ Smaragdus includes a list of Germanic (Frankish or Gothic) personal names with the Latin equivalents of each of their two syllabic elements, e.g., *Ricmunt* 'potens bucca', in what is otherwise an *Ars grammatica* in Latin.¹²⁹ Not only scholarship but foreign travel spurred an interest in language.

Since translation as we know it was virtually impossible because of the lack of grammars for teaching Greek or German, glosses and equivalents (synonyms), (i.e., Greek-Latin, Latin-Greek, Latin-Latin and Latin-German), were commonly used to aid readers of various levels of proficiency. They are found both as individual items in MSS and in inde-

¹²⁶ R. McKitterick (1977), 184-205. The standard English language account of such texts is J.K. Bostock (1976), which regrettably fails to take account of recent paleographic literature (Lowe, Bischoff, etc.). For the localization and dating of the key MSS see now B. Bischoff (1971), 101-134; rpt. in MAS III, 73-111.

¹²⁷ For example, *de mensis ... januarium* 'wintarmanoth', *febrarium* 'hornung'. *Ventis vero hoc modo nomina inposuit, ut subsolanum vocaret* 'ostroniwint', *eurum* 'ostsundroni' (*Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni*, c.29).

¹²⁸ *Loup de Ferrières, Correspondance*, Epistle 6.

¹²⁹ *Liber in partibus Donati, De qualitate nominis*, c.10 (CCCM 68, 22).

pendent collections (glossaries).¹³⁰ Although Walahfrid's interest in equivalents in Latin or latinized Greek and the vernacular is not unique, chapter 7 provides valuable information in three areas. First, it offers an extraordinary insight into his approach to teaching German speakers. As a native German speaker himself, he identifies with his reader (*nostram barbariem* 481.7, *Legant ergo nostri* 481.12). He begins the chapter with the conventional denigration of the vernacular, but then gives new and unexpected dignity to German words used in the liturgy: *Legant ergo nostri et sicut religione, sic quoque rationabili locutione nos in multis veram imitari Grecorum et Romanorum intellegant philosophiam*.¹³¹ Second, this chapter demonstrates a historical-philological sense that is unparalleled in Carolingian writings. Third, his claim that Greek Christian vocabulary reached German through the missionary activity of Gothic Arian Christians¹³² is without precedent and

¹³⁰ Reichenau produced Latin-German glossaries in the early ninth century (Cod. Aug. CXI; Cod. Aug. IC). The standard edition of Old High German glosses is E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glosses*, vols. I-V, (Berlin, 1879-1922), although considerable additions can be made. Older views on glosses are summarized in M. Manitius (1911), esp. 301, but also see the index under *Glossen*; for more recent studies see B. Bischoff (1961b), 209-224; rpt MAS II, 227-245; M. Lapidge (1982), 100, 125 and (1986), 53-58.

For the latest additional literature see the annual bibliographical literature on German Language and Literature, e.g. *Germanistik* and *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*.

¹³¹ 7:481.12-14; translation, 69.

¹³² *Si autem quaeritur, qua occasione ad nos vestigia haec Greco-tatis advenerint, dicendum et barbaros in Romana republica militasse et multos praedicatorum Graecae et Latinae locutionis peritos inter has bestias cum erroribus pugnatos venisse et eis pro causis multa nostros, quae prius non noverant, utilia didicisse, praecipueque a Gothis, qui et Getae, cum eo tempore, quo ad fidem Christi, licet non recto itinere, perducti sunt, in Greco-rum provinciis commorantes nostrum, id est Theotiscum, sermonem habuerint et, ut historiae testantur, postmodum studiosi illius gentis divinos libros in suae locutionis proprietatem transtulerint, quorum adhuc monimenta apud nonnullos habentur (De exordiis, c.7:481.30-38 [translation, 69-70]).*

has received little attention.¹³³

Walahfrid's interest in the Gothic history of the German language remains a subject for speculation. His was not an isolated knowledge of the Goths and their language. At least two other Carolingian scholars transcribed Gothic words and phrases,¹³⁴ and there is a reference to Bishop Ulfilas in the ?early-ninth-century Cologne MS 85.¹³⁵ Perhaps his curiosity stemmed from Gothic texts in the palace library: just as Charlemagne ordered columns and the statue of Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths, to be transported from Ravenna, he could have (certainly more easily!) acquired MSS from Italy. The villain in Walahfrid's major poem, *De Imagine Tetrici*, written in 829, was the same Theoderic.¹³⁶ The question has been raised as to whether the Codex Argenteus, a luxury copy of Ulfilas's translation of the Bible now in Uppsala, belonged to the court library.¹³⁷ Another possible (but controversial) influence could have been the considerable number of men with Visigothic sympathies at the Aachen court since the time of Charlemagne: Theodulf of Orléans,

¹³³ E. Stutz (*Gotische Literaturdenkmäler*, (Stuttgart, 1966), 81-82.

¹³⁴ B. Bischoff (1961b); rpt. in MAS II (1967), 233.

¹³⁵ *Incipiunt questiones de litteris vel singulis causis* (fol.103^b) ... *Et quanta sunt genera litterarum, septem quomodo nominatur Hebraeae Grece Latine syrrae chaldaee aegyptiae geticae, id est cothiceae* (fol.103^{va}) ... *Zulfila gothorum episcopus geticas*, (fol.103^{vb}) followed by etymologies.

¹³⁶ See P. Godman (1987), 133-144 for a detailed study of the poem in the light of political aspirations in the court of Louis the Pious.

¹³⁷ B. Bischoff (1964), 42-62; rpt. MAS III (1981), 155.

Helisachar the archchancellor under Louis the Pious, Benedict of Aniane, and Ermoldus Nigellus. Indeed, Louis the Pious grew up and reigned in Aquitaine in the Gothic heartland until he succeeded to the imperial throne in 814.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ For an older view of Gothic interest at court see E. Bishop (1918), 339-340. For the importance of Theodulf's Visigothic background for his scholarship and writings see Ann Freeman (1987), 197-224, esp. 217-224.

CONCLUSION

The following translation of and liturgical commentary on *De exordiis* presents a source-text of the first importance both for liturgists and for early medieval historians. An examination of Walahfrid's sources has demonstrated that their range is indeed sufficient to satisfy the requirements of modern scholarship; further, the excellence of his training at Reichenau and Fulda enabled him to use them in a scholarly fashion. The treatise does not claim to be a comprehensive study of liturgical affairs: Walahfrid, so to speak, 'fills in the gaps' left by the Fathers, the *ordines* and the *expositiones*. But the topics range so widely as to be an excellent general overview of ninth-century liturgical interests.

His historical approach to the liturgy was ahead of its time, however, as indicated by the few copies of the text. In the mid-ninth century, missionary outreach was still a major concern; the education of clergy and laity was crucial to establishing and strengthening the Christian faith. As *De exordiis* demonstrates, the period was characterized by diversity of liturgical practice. The history of public worship seems not to have been relevant to that climate of intellectual inquiry and activity, of exposition, allegory and instruction.

Throughout Christendom in all periods the Church has recognized and reacted to the need for liturgical reform. *De exordiis* addressed the accompanying dissension and development in the first half of the ninth century. Since the second world war, public worship has again come under extensive pressure for revision. Of the many differences, however, between the ninth and twentieth centuries, it should be noted that in the earlier period the liturgy was a basic element in Christian life, much of it taken for granted; today that is no longer true. Perhaps this very difference has fostered the modern inquiry into the origins of public

worship. A.G. Martimort, the Walahfrid Strabo of the twentieth century, emphasizes the history of liturgy in *The Church at Prayer*, a four-volume series which he has recently edited. His series, cited in this introduction and frequently referred to in the commentary, supports the argument that a historical approach to public worship brings understanding to controversy and allows the promotion of intelligent reform.

Controversial reform -- or reforming controversy -- has always occupied the minds of serious churchmen; and the common resource is books. In order to look closely at performance, meaning or history, whether celebrating a sacrament or compiling a New Hymnary, scholars turn to the texts. Walahfrid compiled his ninth-century history from early source-texts, most of which are still cited by modern liturgical historians. But *De exordiis* is itself a unique text which gives an accurate and realistic contemporary picture of ecclesiastical and liturgical matters.

TABLE OF SOURCES: EXPLANATORY REMARKS

The following Table of Sources records the majority of the the source-texts Walahfrid used in *De exordiis*; the Table also indicates whether Walahfrid could have used those texts at the monasteries of Reichenau or St. Gallen or both on the evidence of contemporary library lists and/or extant MSS.

Material at the head of Table: G indicates the single St. Gallen library list, compiled in the mid-ninth-century, which contains books Walahfrid could indeed have used. R1-R5 refer to the five Reichenau lists compiled between 821-42. MBDS page numbers indicate the pages in the edition by Paul Lehmann (MBDS, 1) where each list is to be found.

The Table of Sources: The evidence is taken from the three lists, G, R1, R5 (as above). An x in the appropriate column means that the work in question is recorded in that list; e.g., Walahfrid could have used a copy of Augustine's *Sermones* in Reichenau, but would have had to use a St. Gallen copy of Bede's 'De templo'.

The superscript numbers, e.g., x¹, refer the reader to the Notes on p. 54; these Notes contain MS information for specific source-texts; they also refer occasionally to the Reichenau library lists R2-R4.

The chapter number(s) accompanying each source-text, e.g., Augustine, *Sermones* (c.23), indicate the chapter(s) in *De exordiis* where the source-text was used, here *De exordiis* c.23.

See also above, pp.32-5.

TABLE OF SOURCES

G: St. Gallen	mid-ninth c.	MBDS	pp.	66-82
R1: Reichenau	a.821-822	"		240-252
R2: Reichenau	a.827-838	"		255-256
R3: Reichenau	a.822-838	"		252-254
R4: Reichenau	a.838-842	"		254-255
R5: Reichenau	a.835-842	"		257-262

(R2-R4 are for reference below, in Notes to this Table)
(Chapter numbers, e.g. (c.3), refer to *De exordiis*)

WALAHFRID'S SOURCES	G	R1	R5
Augustine:			
<i>Confessionum Libri XIII</i> (c.23)	x ¹	x ²	
<i>Enchiridion</i> (c.21)	x ³	x ⁴	
<i>Sermones</i> (c.23)		x	
Bede:			
<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> <i>gentis Anglorum</i> (c.14)	x ⁵	x ⁶	
<i>De tabernaculo</i> (c.4)		x ⁷	
<i>De templo</i> (c.4)	x ⁸		
Cassiodorus:			
<i>Ecclesiastica Historia</i> (cc. 7, 20, 26)	x		
Cyprian:			
<i>De dominica oratione</i> (c.21)	x ⁹	x ¹⁰	
<i>De bello Judaico libri V excerpti de</i> <i>historia Josephi</i> (cc. 2, 4, 13)		x ¹¹	
Eusebius:			
<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> (cc. 26, 27)	x ¹²	x ¹³	
Gennadius:			
<i>Liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum.</i> (c.21)		x ¹⁴	x ¹⁵
Gregory I:			
<i>Dialogorum libri</i> (cc. 21, 26)	x ¹⁶	x	x
Gregory of Tours:			
<i>Chronica</i> (c.29)		x ¹⁷	
Isidore:			
<i>Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX</i>	x	x	
<i>De differentiis rerum</i> (c.6)	x	x	
Jerome:			
<i>Epistolae</i> (c.14)	x ¹⁸		x

WALAHFRID'S SOURCES	G	R1	R5
Josephus:			
<i>Antiquitatum libri</i> (cc. 2, 4)	x ¹⁹	x ²⁰	x
<i>De bello Judaico</i> (cc. 2, 4, 13)	x ²¹	x ²²	
<i>Ordines romani</i> (preface and c.10)	x ²³	x ²⁴	x
Orosius:			
<i>Historiarum adversum paganos libri vii</i> (c.2)		x ²⁵	
<i>Vitae/Gestae</i>			
<i>s. Ambrosii</i> (c.26)	x		x
<i>s. Laurentii</i> (c.27)	x	x	x
<i>s. Martini</i> (c.6)	x	x	
<i>Silvestri Papae</i> (cc.8, 21, 27)	x	x	

NOTES FOR TABLE OF SOURCES

S.G.: St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek MSS

Aug.: Karlsruhe MSS

- 1 ?not extant.
- 2 ?not extant (cp. Aug.CCLXIII (s.xiv), fols 172-83, for later copy).
- 3 possibly S.G.29, fols 177-332, (partial) or S.G.224, fols 78-222.
- 4 ?not extant.
- 5 now S.G.247, fols 1-302.
- 6 not extant: see Mynors & Colgrave, lxv.
- 7 possibly Aug.CLXXXVIII, fols 1-111.
- 8 S.G.266 is probably too late.
- 9 possibly S.G.89 (s.ix), fols 3-44.
- 10 ?not extant (cp. Aug.XVIII of c.806, fols 1-9). See also below, n.15).
- 11 possibly Aug.LXXXII (see also below, n.22); ~~falsely attributed to Cyprian (MBDS)~~
- 12 ?not extant (cp.S.G.547 (s.xii/xiii), fols 95-204 for late copy).
- 13 ?not extant.
- 14 ?not extant: text also exists in Aug.XVIII, fols 58-64, of c.806 (see also above, n.11); text also in S.G.230 (s.ix) fols 498-510, S.G.238 (s.viii) fols 415-434, S.G.677 (s.x) fols 83-103, S.G.911 (s.viii) fols 292-319.
- 15 now Aug.CIX, fols 43-47, with dedication by Reginbert.
- 16 now S.G.213 (s.viii), fols 5-150.
- 17 also listed in R4.
- 18 possibly Aug.CV, fols 12-234; also listed in R2 and R3.
- 19 ?not extant.
- 20 ?not extant; also listed in R3.
- 21 possibly S.G.627, fols 1-253, although Scherrer thought that this was Grimald's book.
- 22 possibly Aug.LXXXII, fols 1-135; (see also above, n.11).
- 23 possibly S.G.11 and/or S.G.349; see C. Vogel (1984), 152-4.
- 24 Reichenau MSS not now identifiable; see lists in Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, I.
- 25 ?not extant.

VERSE PREFACE

Poor and stupid Walafrid assembled this little work
 Following the extensive teachings of the fathers;
 But he did not come into such great attempts of his own
 accord --

The stern command of Reginbert compelled him.
 If anything in this work pleases you, reader,
 Remember to attribute it to the Lord;
 Whatsoever is displeasing, attribute that to me.

ABOUT THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT
 OF SOME ASPECTS OF THE LITURGY

1. About the origins of temples and altars
2. How different religions resemble each other, and what they have
 in common and how they differ.
3. About the progress of the Christian religion
4. Towards which direction those who are praying should be facing
5. About vessels which are simply called bells
6. An explanation of the names attached to certain sacred
 structures
7. What the house of God is called in German
8. About images and pictures
9. About the dedication of temples/churches and altars
10. What ought to be done in places consecrated to God
11. What ought not to be done
12. About the manner of praying and the diversity of voices
13. Who profits from the liturgy and who does not
14. That God desires just and virtuous offerings rather than
 material gifts

15. About the offerings of the Patriarchs
16. About the sacrifices of the New Testament
17. Why sacrifices were changed through Christ
18. About the virtue of the sacraments, and why criminals are
suspended from them
19. What must be offered at the altar
20. That communion must only be taken by those who have fasted
21. That some say that communion should be taken rarely, some
frequently, and some daily
22. Whether one should meet to make the offering and communicate
once or more frequently during the day
23. About the arrangement of the mass and the reason for offering
it
24. About the time of holding mass
25. About vessels and sacred vestments
26. About the canonical hours, kneeling, hymns, chants and their
development
27. About the development of baptism, immersion, and the
proceedings of those who are to be baptised
28. About the giving of tithes
29. About the litany
30. About the sprinkling of water
31. About the blessing of the Easter candle
32. A comparison of ecclesiastical and secular orders and the conclusion
of the book.

PROSE PREFACE

Many have said a great deal about the servants of the church and the liturgy and also about the many and various procedures of sacraments, services and observances. Few or almost no matters now remain which have not already been revealed by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, not

only how they should be performed, but also in what way the individual matters may or must be understood allegorically, having been investigated by a careful examination.

Although in accordance with your most expert study in ecclesiastical affairs you retain both in books and in memory an abundant knowledge of these things, you, Reginbert, venerable father in Christ, ardent in wholesome curiosity, desire me to add certain things, not wholly omitted by the earlier writers but touched upon more briefly than you had wished, as if something had escaped them which we might be able to investigate. In fact, we ought to admit frankly that what discoveries they left for us in their writings we cannot attain even by the most earnest application of learning.

There is something which consoles my timid self in undertakings of this kind when I consider that they, intent upon more difficult matters, passed over the more unimportant ones and thought that those items were obvious to us which seemed clear to them because of the liveliness of their perception.

Therefore, I shall write with whatever ability God has given me -- just as I was able to learn from the words of learned men which we have touched upon thus far -- about the beginnings and causes of certain ecclesiastical matters. I will indicate from which source this or that has come into use, and how it developed as time passed. And I will have, if not praise for knowledge, nevertheless sure reward for obedience.

And it seems that I should first discuss the sacred buildings in which liturgical actions themselves are practised.

1. With regard to altars we read that Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob erected them to the Lord. But Moses was the first to erect a tabernacle, according to a model revealed to him from heaven in the Sinai desert, for the sons of Israel when they had been freed from slavery in

Egypt. Solomon, also, after those same people had been living in the promised land for a long time, and the summit of royal grandeur surpassed the neighbouring peoples, built that marvellous temple at great expense and enriched it with diverse ornamentations in Jersualem, which his father, David, had established as capital of the kingdom.

We read that in both of them, namely tabernacle and temple, the ark of the testament, and the altar with its appurtenances, and other things suitable to the religion of that period, were so numerous and thought out with such learned reasoning that, whatever is practised nowadays in the spiritual endeavours of the church, the whole thing seems fully, and, if I may say so, definitively delineated and fashioned in those allegorical interpretations of the buildings.

<P.476> We know not only from their own books but also from testimonies of divine scripture, that the pagans also made temples for their gods, or rather the demons, their seducers. For we read in Samuel about the temple of Dagon; that King Sennacherib was slaughtered in the temple of Nisroch; that Daniel as well had detected in the temple of Bel the tricks of Bel's priests. We know that Antiochus, a very severe persecutor of the remnants of the people of God and violator of the temple which was rebuilt after their return from captivity, fell in the temple of Nan. There are many other examples by which what we say is proved. We do not want to include witnesses of this matter from the pagans' books, however, lest during our discussions of the ecclesiastical edifice, we occupy the mind of the reader with useless tales.

2. And indeed one must believe that in the earliest times the true worshippers of God and worshippers of demons alike observed ceremonies in places which suited their religion in the open air. But because demons persuaded men to show dishonour to the Creator, utterly to change the image `of the incorruptible God into the likeness [of an image] of a cor-

ruptible man and of birds, and of fourfooted beasts and of creeping things and to serve the creature rather than the Creator', consequently they also began to demand the building of temples and that the burnt offerings not only of animal blood but also of human blood be made for themselves [sc. those demons] as a stronger assertion of the sin of which the people were persuaded.

For that reason the omnipotent and longsuffering Creator, wishing to care for His creation in all possible respects, because He knew that on account of the fragility of human beings all habits could not be eradicated at the same time, allowed and commanded that some things, such as the construction of buildings and different kinds of sacrifices which were paid to devils damnably by impious men, be obediently presented to Him by pious men.

And so it happened that since the things which had been granted to men of old because of their weakness in rejecting sin, having been brought to light through the Passion of Christ, came to benefit us, their successors, for the purpose of our fulfilment, in as much as we sense the spiritual edifice of the church in those material structures, the Passion of Christ in carnal sacrifices and examples of moral excellence (*virtutes*) in liturgical actions.

However, just as God intended certain moral precepts to have parallel meaning for us and men of old, such as those which pertain to the preservation of honesty of character and justice among men, so He prescribed that they and we should absolutely avoid certain shameful things which were instituted for the pleasure of demons, such as evil deeds, lying, debauchery, superstitious sins and the like. So although these things are distinguished in this way, one ought to know that certain things are common to every religion, such as: 'what you do not wish to be done to you, do not do to another', and whatever is found in natural law concordant with divine commands.

Nevertheless, there is this difference that in the first case certain people have observed those precepts for the sake of rectitude, such as philosophers, certain people for the sake of fear, such as the Jews, others for the sake of love, such as the followers of Christ.

Let us go back to our main point, however: just as God was willing that certain things be presented to Him by His worshippers which demons previously persuaded sinners to practise, in order that He might destroy the works of the devil, so the demons in their turn demanded for themselves a ritual instituted by God especially in the multiplicity of sacrifices and ceremonies, just as it is written in the books of the law of God, 'from which the Gentiles sought an image of their gods'; so then even as the law instructs [men] to serve the Lord, by the very same rites the deceived Gentiles worshipped their demons who deceive them.

For we also read that in the period of Tiberius and Gaius Caesar <p.477> idols were collected in the temple of the Lord. And Julian the Apostate tried to distort the entire order of the liturgy to the worship of idols; and the devil himself wished to be adored as God by Christ.

3. Accordingly, afterwards when the time came 'when the true adorers began to adore the Father in spirit and in truth', not only in Jerusalem or on the mountain of Samaria, that is, not in a physical locality but spiritually, and the doctrine of salvation was sent out into all the Gentiles according to the command of the Lord, the faithful began to seek pure places which were far removed from the commotions and affairs of living in the flesh, where they might celebrate pure prayers and the holy sacraments and the comforts of mutual edification.

For although according to the Gospel the disciples were always with the believers in the temple or an upper room praising God and devoting themselves to prayer and fasting, nevertheless we read that after the coming of the Holy Spirit, they frequently engaged in prayers and the

breaking of bread in people's houses and met not only inside city buildings but also outside in places set apart. For we read that in Philippi Paul proceeded outside the gate by a river side, where it seemed that there was prayer,' and he prayed with the Ephesians on the shore. Furthermore, we frequently read in the lives of saints that when the number of believers increased, they began to make their homes churches, and they contributed private dwellings for the faithful's public use. Also, avoiding the frenzy of persecutions, they would often hold meetings in crypts and cemeteries and caves and desert hills and valleys.

Then as the miracle of the Christian religion gained more and more ground and as the damage of the devil was buried by the advantages of Christ, not only were new houses for prayer built, but also after the idols were thrown down and destroyed together with their unclean rituals, temples of gods were changed into churches of God.

4. And because the different forms of idolatry had constructed temples in different fashions, just men of that period did not particularly care in which direction places of prayer should face, so long as they saw that where the filthiness of demons had been eliminated, there God the Creator of all things, who is everywhere, was worshipped and adored. Therefore, although a Father says that we adore God facing the rising of the light, it is indeed both fitting and established by wholesome regular practice that we turn our faces to the east when praying because, just as we receive the arrival of physical light from the east, so also while praying we require the face of Him to be illumined above us, about Whom it was written: 'Behold a man, the Orient is his name', and: 'the Orient from on high hath visited us'.

Nevertheless, because the entrance of both temple and tabernacle was on the eastern side, where the altar and basin were, and where all the rites of victims and sacrifices were made, it is certain that in each

[sc. temple and tabernacle] many people prayed on the eastern side facing west. Indeed when Solomon dedicated the temple, he 'stood before the altar and spread forth his hands towards heaven' and poured out a prayer marvellous as much for its devotion as its length.

Now the first and foremost parts of the temple and of the altar looked to the east, which is the reason why the ancient Fathers called the eastern parts of temples the front, the western the back, the northern the left, the southern the right. This is what is written about the south side of the temple of the Lord: 'The door for the middle side was on the right hand of the house.'

The doors of the three atria, placed in a straight line directly facing one another, opened to the east in such a way that the rising equinoctial sun would direct its rays through them equally towards the middle of the temple, <p.478> and in the same way extend them through the entrances of the portico and of the temple itself into the entrances of the holy of holies placed on the other side [of the temple]. Earlier writers state that those who were standing in the outer atria, because certain just reasons prohibited them from entry into the interior, would direct their eyes through the open view of the doors placed facing them right to the entrance of the temple where they did not dare to go on foot, and there they approached with prayers and vows and salutations.

And also Solomon himself, in that renowned prayer said to God concerning the people if they were to wander because of their sins: 'And if [Thy people] pray to Thee towards the way of the city [sc. Jerusalem], which Thou hast chosen, and of the temple which I have built in Thy name' and so on. We also read in the Scriptures what Daniel the prophet, a man in whom nothing suspicious could be found, did: 'opening the windows in his upper chamber towards Jerusalem', he prayed three times every single day. Having been taught by these and other examples, we know that they have neither strayed nor stray who have constructed or still do construct

altars in various regions because of some advantage of the sites, either in temples newly built to God or cleansed from the squalor of idols, because there is no place where God is not.

And we have learned by a most reliable account that the altars were distributed not only toward the east, but also in other directions in the church at Jerusalem which the emperor Constantine with his mother, Helena, erected over the sepulchre of the Lord in a round construction of astonishing size; and again at Rome in the temple which from ancient times was called the Pantheon, and which was consecrated in honour of all the saints by blessed Pope Boniface with the permission of the emperor Phocas; and also in the church of blessed Peter, chief of the apostles, [sc. St. Peter's, Rome]. Since these things were so arranged either according to desire or necessity, we do not dare to disapprove.

But nevertheless the more frequent use, according to what we recounted above, and more reasonable, has those who pray turned to the east, and the greatest number of churches are constructed in that fashion. 'Let every man abound in his own sense'; 'the Lord is nigh to all that call upon Him in truth', and 'salvation is far from sinners'; 'let us draw nigh to God and He will draw nigh to us'. Moreover, the sinner, even if he flees from Him who is everywhere, cannot avoid Him: 'for neither from the east nor from the west nor from the desert hills' -- you must supply, a place of escape lies open -- 'for God is the judge: one He putteth down and another He lifteth up'; to whom also the prophet says: whither shall I go from thy spirit? Or whither shall I flee from thy face? If I ascend into heaven' and so on.

5. [I shall now write] about hollow vessels, either cast or made of highly wrought or beaten metal, which are simply called bells because their echoing sound, awakened by certain strikings, signifies the hours at which the liturgy is celebrated in the house of God. Now about these,

I say, it seems that this should be said that their use is not in fact recorded among ancient practices because the considerable frequency of meetings was not held then as is now the case. Among some, devotion alone compelled [them] to assemble at prescribed hours; others were summoned by public announcements and in one ceremony they learned of the ones to come next. In certain communities the hours were recorded on tablets [of bone], in some communities on tablets of horn.

People maintain that the first use of these vessels, about which this discourse originated, was found among the Italians. <p.479> This is why they call the larger vessels *campanae* from Campania, which is a province of Italy, and why they call the smaller ones, which are named *tintinnabula* from their sound, *nolae* from Nola, a city of the same Campania, where those vessels are first recorded.

Indeed, because we have bronze and silver trumpets in the Old Testament, and because the prophet orders that a 'voice' of proclamation 'like a trumpet' be lifted up, we use these bells appropriately, in the calling together of the faithful, so that our proclamation in church may be expressed purely in silver, durably and sonorously in bronze, in other words so that it may not be defiled by heretical blight, nor be wearied by the indolence of carelessness, nor be subdued by human awe.

6. Let these words, said to the best of our ability, be sufficient; now let us say a few words about the names which have been given, not accidentally, but deliberately, to the holy places and buildings themselves, so that while the reader has learned the causes and origins of the buildings, he can also observe why they are called thus or so.

Ecclesia, a Greek term which is translated 'a calling together' or 'a coming together', [is so called] since it is either the general unity of saints bound together in one faith and love, from which the *ecclesia* is said to be one and universal, or it is the holy union of individual

places, for which reason we speak ^{of many} *ecclesiae*; and likewise, by borrowing that name, the very *domus* (house) in which a great number of the faithful assemble either for learning about or for praising God is called an *ecclesia* on account of the business which is conducted there.

The apostle introduced examples of these things saying: 'That He might present it to Himself, a glorious *ecclesia* not having spot or wrinkle', and 'As also I teach in all the *ecclesiae* of the saints'; and 'Let women keep silent in the *ecclesia*', and many instances similar to these.

Each of the elect is ^{*domus* (house) and a} called a *templum* (temple) of God, just as the apostle affirmed both in his own and the prophetic example saying: 'The *templum* of God is holy, which you are'; just as God says: 'that I will dwell in them and walk among them', etc; and Peter said: 'be you also as living stones built up, spiritual *domus* (houses)', etc. Therefore, as an *ecclesia* is a member of the *Ecclesia*, so too, many *domus* and *templa* are members of the *domus* and *templum* of God.

However, *domus* comes from *doma* (a dwelling), which is Greek for *tectum* (a dwelling). Also the house of an entire family abiding *sub uno tecto* (under one roof) is called a *consortium*, in the same way that the city of an entire people and of the whole world of the human race is called a *domicilium* (dwelling).

Templum is called, as it were, a *tectum amplum*, which is why this name suits rather grand buildings: just as they say that Solomon, the most powerful of kings, built a *templum* in the royal city, whereas Moses built a *tabernaculum* on his journey. However, *tabernaculum* (tabernacle) takes its name from *tabulae* (planks) and *cortinae* (curtains) because *cortinae* were stretched from above with *tabulae* standing between them, and which is why soldiers' *tentoria*, which are the protection from heat, rainstorms and injuries from cold on a journey, are called *tabernacula*.

They think *aedes* and *aedificia* came from *edendum* (eating) in them, as if they were originally made *ad edendum* (for eating), which is why

Plautus says: 'If I had called you *in aedem* (into the house) for dinner'. For one can argue that *aedes* mean houses *ad edendum* in those days, just as *caenacula* (upper rooms) were first made *ad caenandum* (for dining) and afterwards took on another meaning from continuous usage; <p.480> just as originally, little houses of the common people used to be called *tabernae* (huts), because they were made from wooden *tabulae* (boards), and this is what some people wish to be the derivation of *tabernaculum*. Now, however, *tabernae* mean *aediculae cauponum* (the shops/dwellings of shop-keepers/innkeepers).

The Greek word, *basilica*, means *regalis* (royal) or *regia* (king's palace) in Latin, from *basileus*, that is from *rex* (king). For indeed *palatia* (palaces) of kings of this world are so called, as we read about Esther: 'she stood in the inner court of the king's house which was over against the king's *basilica* (hall)'. However, our *orationis domus* (house of prayer) is called a *regia*, because in it [prayer and worship] is devoted to the King of kings, or because kings and priests, that is, members of the most exalted King and Priest, who give commands by movements of the body and sacrifice spiritual offerings to God, are regenerated there by water and the spirit, and are nourished by the principle of salvation.

The Greek word *absida* (apse, choir, arch, vault) is called *lucida* (place full of light) in Latin, because light enters received through the *arcus* (arch or vault). An *exedra* is a kind of *absida* separated a little way from the *templum* or *palatium* and is called this because it is attached outside; however, in Greek it is called a *cyclon*.

Some people said *ara* (altar) was so called because victims for burning *arderent* (were set on fire) there; others said it originated from *precationes* (prayers) which the Greeks call *arae*, which is why *imprecationes* (curses) are called *antara*. *Altare* (altar) is named as it were from *altae arae*.

Porticus (arcade) comes from *porta* (door or gate) or because it might be *aperta* (opened): for it is for this purpose above all, that through it one might enter and step across it.

Cymiterium is a resting place or sleeping place of the dead; the reason the church calls them those who are sleeping is because there is no doubt that they will be resurrected.

Criptae are subterranean caves named from their sheer depth, just as we name *crepidines* (highest points) the *abruptae summitates* (sheer limits) of any structure.

Martyria are *ecclesiae* which were created out of respect for certain martyrs; the canons decreed that suitable honours must be shown to their *sepulchra* (burial places) and *ecclesiae*, and they decreed that places which were constructed for doubtful names and relics or only for a mere naming of the dead were not to be regarded with honour; we read that Martin and Germanus of Paris demonstrated this by their examples.

Sacrarium (sacristy) comes from sacred items being stored and kept there; *analogium* (lectern) because the word of God is read and proclaimed there, for in Greek *logos* means *verbum* or *ratio* (word or reason); *pulpitum* (pulpit) because it is erected *in publico* so that those who stand there might be seen by everyone. *Ambo* comes from *ambiendum* (a going round a place) because it 'encircles' and surrounds whoever enters it.

The origin of *cancelli* (railings) seems to come from the fact that they are made with rather small *columnis*: for larger columns and particularly squared ones are called *cancrī*; or *cancelli* comes from *cubito* (elbow), which is called *ancos* in Greek. Many used to be built no higher than to permit those standing to lean with their elbows from above.

Ianuae (entrances) come from a certain Ianus (god of beginnings) to whom the Gentiles consecrated every entrance and exit. *Ostia* (front doors or entrances) come from *obstando* (obstructing) men placed outside or from *ostendo* (showing) an entrance; *valvae* (folding doors) from *volvendo*

(a turning together); *fores* (the two leaves of a door) because they have been placed *forinsecus* (on the outside); *portae* (doors) because everything is *portantur* (carried) and brought through them. However, *ianuae* are strictly speaking the first entrances into a house, *ostia* the entrances within the *ianua* to any places whatsoever: *valvae* are turned inwards, that is are turned round and folded together, just as the *fores* which are turned *foras* (outward): however, strictly speaking *portae* belong to walls and atria.

Camera (a vaulted chamber) comes from the curvature which is usually made in these buildings which are enclosed from above by masonry. This is also called a *testudo* (tortoise; vaulted chamber) from the upper concavity similar to a certain animal; for in Greek a curve is called a *camyron*.

<p. 481> *Lacunaria* and hanging *laquearia* are so called because they shine in bronze.

However, because it takes a long time to treat by way of explanation every single part of sacred buildings -- for the diversity of the names and sorts in these just as in other structures is enormous! -- let these words about their more prominent parts suffice. As to the other parts which remain, through these indications of origins easier access will be available to students.

7. Next, let me discuss by what name this same house of God is called in our barbarous tongue, which is German, though I shall be a laughing stock to any Latin speakers who may chance to read this, in wishing to count the misformed offspring of apes as one with the children of the noble races. However, we know that along with peacocks monkeys were brought to Solomon, who in many respects represented a prefiguration of our Lord and Saviour; and the Lord, who feeds the doves, 'gives food to the young ravens who called upon Him to help them.' Therefore, let

our [German] people read about these things, so they may understand that as in religion, so too in rational speech we imitate the true philosophy of Greeks and Romans in many respects.

Among individual nations there are many things the names of which are unknown before they come to know about those things from others. Thus it may very often come about that the ones who acquire knowledge of things from the others also take into their possession along with the new knowledge the names and designations of these things, either correctly or in a corrupt form.

So the Greeks, Latins and Germans have borrowed *amen*, *alleluia* and *osanna* from the Hebrews, the Latins and all who use the books and language of the Latins have taken *ecclesia*, *baptismus*, *chrisma* and the roots of almost all words from the Greeks; but the Germans have taken from Latin many things in their common speech, too, such as *scamel*, *fenestra*, and *lectar*, while in things pertaining to the divine service, they have added almost all words for things from Latin; also from Greek, following Latin, they have such words as *chelih* from *calix*, *phater* from *pater*, *moter* from *mater*, *genez* from *genetium*, where the Greeks say *cylix*, *pater*, *meter* and *genetion*, although in some of these cases there are both particular Latin words such as *genitor* and *genitrix* and also German such as *atto* and *amma*, *todo* and *toda*.

From the Greek itself, however, we have taken *kyrica* from *kyrios* and *papo* from *papa*, which is the term for a special fatherhood and suits the dignified position of the clergy, and *heroro* from *heros* (hero), and *mano* and *manoth* from *mene* (month) and many other words.

And just as the house of God is called *basilica*, that is *regia* (palace) from *rex*, so also *kyrica*, that is *dominica*, is so called from *Dominus*, because service is done to the *Dominus* of dominions and *Rex* of kings in that building.

If, however, someone asks on what occasion these vestiges of Greek came to us, the answer is both that Germans served as soldiers in the

Roman army, and that many of those just mentioned who were experienced in speaking Greek and Latin came to combat the sins among these heathens. For these reasons our men had learned many useful things which they had not known before especially from the Goths, who were also called *Getae*, because at the time when they were brought to the faith of Christ, although not by the correct route, while dwelling in the provinces of the Greeks, they spoke our language, i.e. German. As the histories bear witness, learned men soon translated the Bible of that people into the possession of their own language, whose annals some still have. And by the report of faithful brothers we have learned that up until now the liturgy is celebrated in the same language among certain peoples of the Scythians, especially the inhabitants of Tomis.

<p.482> However, these mixtures and borrowings of words are so manifold in all tongues that now the characteristics of each individual language are somewhat fewer than those shared with some and borrowed from others.

8. Some things should now be said about the images and pictures which increase the splendour of churches. They should not be cultivated in their various forms with a kind of excessive fervour, as some foolish people do, but on the other hand their splendour should not be scorned with a kind of contempt, as some advocates of vanity think. For what reasonable person is going to suppose that Moses and Solomon in the constructing of the tabernacle or the temple had flouted those reasonable injunctions which were written: 'The Lord thy God shalt thou adore and Him only shalt thou serve', and again 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any likeness of those things which are in heaven or in earth or in the waters under the earth', because Moses decorated different kinds of veils and priestly vestments in accordance with divine command? Or because Solomon adorned nearly the entire fabric of the temple with pictures and carvings

not only of animals but also of trees and vegetation, in accordance with the wisdom bestowed on him from heaven? Or because each built over the ark and the mercy seat likenesses of the heavenly Cherubim?

It is certain that they felt as we should feel, that clearly, the veneration and honour owed to God should not be paid to things which they made or we make whether in order to signify some mystery, as in each structure of tabernacle and temple, or to commemorate great deeds, as in pictures from history, or to impress more sharply on the minds of the viewer the love of those portrayed, as in the images of the Lord and His saints. It was not for nothing that a further injunction was added to those just quoted: 'Thou shalt not adore them nor serve them'; so naturally we come to understand that the devotion and utility in making these objects, by which we seek to be improved and instructed, should not be condemned. Equally we understand that what is blameworthy in their veneration is the superstition and folly with which the misguided strive to transfer a spiritual worship to material things.

Of course, if anyone thinks the art of painting or sculpture should be censured because things made by artists and sculptors might, by their grace and elegance, entice the foolish to worship them, logically he could also object to the works of God -- why has God created the heavenly bodies of such splendour or the plants and vegetables of such loveliness and fragrance that these, like other created things, have been adored and worshipped in the liturgy by the deluded? This sin is not ascribed to the Author of good, but to the urging of demons and to the evil custom of men who learned to abuse good things for an evil purpose. Indeed, it should be noted that just as some people venerate these same images excessively, so others, wishing to appear more cautious than others in religious matters, reject images as idolatrous, and they offend the simple-hearted by their obstinate arrogance.

Controversy on this matter often aroused such contention among the Greeks that under Pope Gregory II, Emperor Constantine abolished all

images in Constantinople, and under Gregory III a synod was held at Rome against the aforesaid heresy, as they called it, in which it was affirmed that <p.483> images of saints were to be restored according to the ancient use of the universal church. This same complaint of the Greeks, which had been brought into Francia in the time of Emperor Louis of blessed memory, was, through his foresight, finally confuted in the documents of a synod.

Also a certain Claudius, bishop of Turin, halting and lame in the pilgrimage of truth (as his name denotes), while desiring to renew this controversy among the other absurdities of his empty ideas, before he might be pierced through by the javelins of diverse men writing against him, died condemned by his own judgement. And probably anyone who has disdained the image of the Emperor of the faithful, even on a coin, pays in full before the Emperor's tribunal the penalties equally for his insolence and disturbance. For the powerful of the world used to think that no trifling injury had been inflicted upon them if they learned that their image or name, on any sort of coin, was despised or trampled upon by their subjects.

However, we read in Scripture that although the people of Israel while in the desert, and King Jeroboam offended God by making golden calves, the bronze serpent which Moses made by the Lord's command was not to be condemned, because bites by real serpents were healed by contemplating the serpent's image. However, we read that Hezekiah, a very religious king of Judah, destroyed that bronze serpent because the people, ever inclined towards idolatry, subsequently venerated it with superstitious worship.

Therefore, Christian people, introduced to the secret storerooms of spiritual wisdom by their aptitude for divine teaching, believe that -- not to mention pictures and images -- not even holy men themselves, living or dead, should be worshipped and adored in the liturgy. For we

ask the saints, not that they themselves should supply the things that are necessary for our salvation, but seeing that they are nearer to Him by their merits and therefore more certain to be heard, we ask that they seek from the Author of all good things, from Whom 'every best gift and every perfect gift is given', what they know is useful for the salvation of those petitioning. But we pray to God that He may grant what He deems suitable for us by His gratuitous benevolence and by the merits and intercessions of the saints. And to Him indeed we pray as the Lord God, Judge, Omnipotent Creator and Saviour; but to them, those friends of God, servants of the Lord, [our] patrons truly adorned with honour and fully redeemed, we appeal for support. That such are the prayers of the faithful none can doubt who have learned to contemplate the public prayers of the church.

And so, since such is the perfection of Christian understanding, the proper and moderate honours paid to images should not be entirely abandoned. For if, because we know that icons are not to be adored and worshipped, paintings should be trampled upon and destroyed as if they were harmful and unnecessary, and if, because we believe that the Creator of all things, Who is everywhere and fills heaven and earth, does not live in things made by human hands, temples should be destroyed -- lest we should seem to believe that the Creator might be confined within walls and roofs -- thus it could follow that while we take care that there be nothing anywhere by which the simple-minded could err, we might have almost nothing left by which we either may practise our devotion or may be able to attract the simple and ignorant to the love of unseen things.

<p.484> The great benefit which may derive from the consideration of a painting is evident in various other ways: first of all because a painting is a kind of literature for the illiterate, to such an extent that we read that some of our forefathers learned stories of the ancient writers from paintings. Secondly, although I will omit many details for

the sake of brevity, we read in the deeds of Pope Silvester that the Emperor Constantine recognised the busts of the apostles because he saw them in a vision. And sometimes we see that the simple and unlettered folk, who can scarcely be led to the faith by the telling of deeds, are so transfixed by a painting of the Lord's *P*assion or other marvellous events that they show by their tears that the outward images have been imprinted upon their heart as if by staining with a brush stroke.

Therefore, just as 'all things are clean to the clean: but to them that are defiled and to unbelievers, nothing is clean: because both their mind and their conscience are defiled'; so, for evil men, all ways are full of a stumbling block; and just as good men deal well with evil things, so also do evil men use good things badly.

Therefore, images and paintings should be possessed and loved in such a way that their usefulness will not be negated by contempt -- for any irreverence abounds in injury to those whose images they are -- nor should the wholesomeness of faith be harmed by [their] excessive veneration, lest excessively great honour to material things convict us of too little contemplation of what is spiritual.

9. That temples should be consecrated to God by a solemn dedication is shown in the examples of ancient people and by common sense. We read that the patriarch Jacob set up a rock, and after pouring oil from above anointed it and called it the house of God; in this way he invoked the most mighty God of Israel over the altar which he had built. And indeed, we read that the tabernacle of Moses and the temple of Solomon were consecrated by renowned dedications, where a fire descending from heaven consumed the sacrifices, and over each building the smoke and cloud of divine protection appeared as evidence of divine manifestation and visitation. But it should be noted that the dedication of the temple was celebrated, not only at its first construction but also at its second and

at its third, after it had been destroyed and profaned by the Gentiles because of the sins of the people; when the rebuilding had been purified under Zorobabel and under Maccabeus, a repeated dedication followed.

We know that the dedication [sc. the third], made most recently in winter, was observed up until the time of Christ's Passion, just as it is written in the Gospel of John: 'And it was the feast of the dedication at Jerusalem: and it was winter', etc.: for the remaining two [dedications] are recounted to have been made at other times of the year, namely in the seventh and first month.

We also find a statute in the council of Agde that an altar should be anointed and blessed. Indeed, we have these and a good many other examples of the dedications of temples and altars, as well as having been led to this observance by common sense.

We know that as testimonies to their sin, pagans devote and dedicate temples and statues to their demonic deceivers in what are desecrations rather than sacraments to thrust their devotion more firmly into the bosom of their deities, whom they desire to please. By this intimacy they procure the grace of devils so that they might look after them, since we read that Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made a dedication of a statue which he had set up in the plain of Dura.

<p.485> Therefore, should we not take the trouble to dedicate the temples and altars of our religion through pure and true sacraments to God our Saviour as evidence of our devotion, both so that we may please the divine Majesty with the liturgy of our dedication, and He Himself may think fit always to look after us and make in us a dwelling for Himself, Who says through the prophet: 'Reverence My sanctuary', etc.?

10. What ought to be done in places consecrated to God, the Lord makes plain by the words of the prophet and by His own words: 'My house shall be called the house of prayer for all nations', and the Psalmist

says: 'I will come into Thy house; I will worship towards Thy holy Temple, in Thy fear', and many instances similar to these. Jacob also knew that the presence of angels is considered [to be] in such places when he saw angels ascending and descending by the ladder erected in Bethel, and David testifies saying: 'I will sing praise to Thee in the sight of the angels; I will worship towards Thy holy temple'. The law of Moses also teaches abundantly that vows and sacrifices ought to be offered to God in these [consecrated] places, and the Psalmist is mindful saying, 'I will pay my vows to the Lord before all His people', etc.

And Moses shows that the word of doctrine also is dispersed to the people in a church when he expounded the Lord's mandates to the people at the door of the tabernacle. The Lord Himself at the age of twelve was found in the temple sitting in the midst of the teachers. Frequently in the Gospel he is found to have given a talk in the temple; indeed, in His Passion he acknowledges that 'He taught openly in the synagogues and in the temple whither all the Jews resort.' Peter prayed in the temple with John, Paul too fulfilled vows, and all the apostles taught there.

Therefore, since the same house of God is also called an *oratorium*, one can consider it to be so named both from making prayers in it and from a discourse of doctrine, because *oratio* is *oris ratio* (thinking of the mouth): *oratio* not only means a humble request but also a rational discourse. This is why the major orders use *oraria* in church, because the function of teaching pertains to them; and public declaimers and wise composers of speeches are called *oratores* (orators).

It is also suitable that baptism be celebrated there because we read that a laver was placed before the tabernacle, and in front of the temple were placed the [bronze] sea and ten lavers in which were washed the priests who were about to make an offering, and the flesh of sacrificial beasts. And surely it is appropriate that Christians should be reborn in the temple of Christ.

11. That other tasks of secular business must not be carried out in buildings consecrated to God -- I do not mean those which are nowhere lawful -- but also certain others which are sometimes defensibly practised elsewhere must be removed from such buildings the Lord Himself demonstrated when, led by zeal for the house of God, He cast out sellers and buyers from the temple; and in a certain place in the Old Testament, He complains, speaking through the prophet: 'My beloved hath wrought much wickedness in My house.'

The apostle also rebukes the Corinthians for holding debates and banquets in a church saying: 'For first of all I hear that when you come together ... there are schisms among you' etc., and in the following passages: 'When you come therefore together into one place, it is not now to eat the Lord's Supper. For every one taketh before his own supper to eat. And one indeed is hungry and another is drunk. What, have you not houses to eat and drink in? Or despise ye the church of God and put them to shame that have not?' <p.486> And after many other items he adds: 'Wherefore, my brethren, when you come together to eat, wait for one another. If any man be hungry, let him eat at home; that you come not together unto judgement'. And previously he reports on the disorderly behaviour of the people who pray: 'Now this I ordain: not praising you, that you come together, not for the better but for the worse'. This is why blessed father Benedict instructs in his rule for monks: 'Let this house of prayer be just what it is called, and let nothing else be done or kept there.'

In this way it is shown that those who, assembled for no good reason, practise unworthy things there or change holy places into barns and storehouses, are culpable since in the canons, too, it has frequently been forbidden for banqueting and dining to take place in churches unless someone is compelled by the necessity of travelling.

12. The same father [sc. Benedict] argued in a few words, and particularly these, how one should pray saying: 'A prayer ought to be short and pure, and let us be sure that we are not heard for a wealth of words but for purity of heart and compunction of tears', and not for a clamorous voice, but tears and the heart's effort; and again: 'Let us consider how we ought to behave in the presence of God and of the holy angels, and let us stand for singing the psalms so that our mind and voice may be in harmony'.

Therefore let us understand from these examples what the Lord wishes to be done in His temples and what He forbids; He punished the sons of Eli because of sins committed in the tabernacle, and He heard Anna, the mother of blessed Samuel, praying in the solitary agitation of her heart on behalf of her son with only the movement of her lips, without the sound of her voice. After the old man who lacked piety towards the prophet had been reproved, the Lord chose Samuel to be priest and leader because he ministered faithfully in the house of the Lord.

From Samuel's modest mother we should learn humble perseverance in prayer, and after prayer we should learn the persistence stemming from salvation. For it is said of her that 'her countenance was no more changed'. He who either petitions in prayer something other than he should, or prays in some other way than the Teacher of humility recommends, either does not know how to pray or accomplishes less than he could. Indeed he who immediately the prayer is finished leaps forth without regard to a bad habit or to new sins, loses the fruit of prayer. Some people in prayer beat their breast with their fists, bruise their head, raise their voices with a woman's shrillness, and are not afraid to disturb others nearby by either words or deeds and to present themselves as guilty. Surely by such practices these men oppose the Judge whom they honour by praying.

One must say of the diversity of voices, that voice is appropriate for divine praises which, however it sounds, having originated from the good treasure-chamber of the heart, is in harmony with the inward intention. For we read that there is a loud voice in a good man, while in the dedication of the temple of Solomon, the sound of priests and deacons roaring on trumpets and in hymns is said to have echoed far and wide. And we also read that holy martyrs shouted in a loud voice under the altar of God. Although in the above passages and in many other places it can be learned that a loud voice is that which proceeds from a good prayer, (but it may be humble in tone -- just as God said to Moses, 'Why do you cry to me?', where we read that no one had cried out anything there) nevertheless, it is a good thing and to be preferred to any silence to labour properly and simply in praise of God. And although every sort of divine praise performed appropriately should be commended, <p.487> it should be said that what has the least amount of vanity and boasting is the more acceptable. Read the books of the *Confessions* of St. Augustine and you will find how much danger he judged there was in the sweetness and melody of chanting.

13. Now surely we should know that the rituals of temples and the liturgy are acceptable to God, the Creator of all men, if the hearts of men, for whose sake He permits or commands these things to be presented to Him, were worthy of His habitation. For in vain do they polish wood and stones who do not put their morals in order; in vain do they collect gifts and money who do not appease inwardly the eye of divine perception. Because the Jews did not listen to the Lord inwardly, He despised and rejected their outward things, saying through the prophet: 'I have forsaken My house, I have left My inheritance', and He Himself said: 'Your house shall be left to you desolate'. Therefore, because of the sins of men He is a witness that holy places are neglected by God, the ark was

taken by foreigners, the temple was overthrown and profaned so many times, and many churches of Christians at one time were devastated or overturned by barbarians, at another desolated by fires or thunderbolts, at another demolished by earthquakes or tempests.

This is the reason why the Lord took even the greatest trust away from the sinning people through Jeremiah, saying: 'Trust not in lying words saying "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, it is the temple of the Lord"', etc. As for the fact that not only God's protection, but also the angels' guardianship and the care of the saints left once holy places, since the inhabitants or dwellers of the places had previously departed from God, from that it is certain because all the soldiery of saints stand at God's throne and, where God has not been, there they cannot be; according to the manifestation of grace, I mean, not according to the immensity of divine Power, in which He who fills heaven and earth is not even absent from the infernal regions.

Also Josephus writes that when the destruction of the city was threatened because of sins, a voice of invisible attendants was heard from the inner rooms of the temple: 'Let us go away from these seats.' Indeed holy places do not benefit those who abandon sanctity, just as wild places are not harmful to those who are protected by the grace of the Lord. For even in the aforementioned overthrowing of Jerusalem, weakened men turning their tear-filled eyes back toward the temple did not deserve to be freed, just as it is written: 'They cried: but there was none to save them. To the Lord: but He heard them not.' For there is joined in the same psalm, and deservedly: 'the children that are strangers have lied to Me', etc.

Therefore presumptuous and careless men are punished in holy places: such as Nadab and Abihu 'offering a strange fire'; again Korah with the rebels was consumed by the fire of the Lord before the tabernacle; Eli the priest 'broke his neck' and died in the holy place;

the men of Bethshemesh are damned in sight of the ark; Uzzah was destroyed beside the ark; Joab was slaughtered beside the altar; Ozias, unworthily raging at the priests, was covered with leprosy.

On the contrary men who are humble and fear God are rescued in the most evil and deadly places, since [their] justice protects them: Joseph does not perish in the cistern, he is not sent away to jail; <p.488> Moses is not killed in the river; Job is lifted up from the dung heap; Jeremiah is raised from the muddy cistern; Daniel is saved unhurt from the lions, the three boys from the fire; Peter is freed from prison; Paul escapes from the sea.

And what more should I say? Iniquity cast angels down from heaven, justice freed men from hell.

14. Finally, those [patrons] who build and adorn sacred buildings ought to be reminded that they should show the state of their piety by the possessions justly acquired, because the Lord testifies through the prophet [sc. Isaiah] that He 'hates robbery in a holocaust,' and elsewhere it is written: 'Whoever offers an offering from a theft of a poor man, is like someone who sacrifices the son before the father'; and in Proverbs: 'The sacrifices of the wicked are abominable, because they are offered of wickedness'; and again: 'honour Yahweh with your just works', etc. Let them also remember that King David did not wish to accept the land of Araunah the Jebusite for building an altar to the Lord, unless he first purchased it at a fair price, even though Araunah wished to give it without recompense. In fact, it is not a remedy for sin if, after you have rejected the precept of salvation, you flaunt symbols of that contempt before the Ruler.

Then whoever offers rightly but neglects the greater and more useful mandates of the law hears with Cain: 'If you make a right offering, but do not apportion it rightly, have you not sinned? Stop it.' To

people like this the Saviour said: 'Woe to you because you tithe mint and rue and every herb, and omit the weightier things of the law: mercy, judgement and truth.'

However, we say these things not so as to censure the devotion of constructions and embellishments of holy places, but so as to teach that charity for the poor should be preferred to this, because as blessed Jerome says, it is presumptuous that walls gleam with gold and Christ is tormented before the doors in hunger and nakedness. For there Christ Himself commanded us to lay up treasures 'where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal'; and coming in judgement, He will not ask whether we had built churches, but whether we had benefited the least of its members.

These are the ornaments which the Apostle calls 'a worldly sanctuary', because there are other so-called heavenly sanctuaries, just as there are ornaments of souls which, the less splendour they have in this world, the more recompense and reward they have in the eyes of the Lord. We also read that blessed Pope Gregory did not, as others did, work on the adornment of churches, but on teaching and the distribution of alms, which he was concerned to practise not only among his own people [sc. in Rome] but also among those far off in foreign provinces.

Therefore, if the highest degree of sanctity existed in constructing or embellishing sacred buildings, then the men most zealous for those things should be outstanding by the diversity of their merits compared with others who have been less devoted to doing them.

But we read that Moses the builder of the tabernacle had offended the Lord with regard to the Water of Dispute, and for that reason had not reached the Promised Land. We also read that after the unique construction of a marvellous temple, Solomon, seduced by the love of women, had run into the wrath of the Lord; <p.489> this is why the united kingdom's power, having been divided by his offspring, disappeared partly into another tribe by that ruinous partition.

Therefore we recognise, and after laying aside every doubt, we profess that the construction of sacred buildings out of religious devotion should be praised. In the same way, however, moral excellence, which is the spiritual structure and the everlasting ornament of the souls in which God lives, is much preferred to these things because in however beautiful a fashion they are made, earthly ornaments are worthless to God without moral excellence. He even shows that moral excellence, which He loves in His angels also, is always pleasing to Him, even without material composition, saying through the prophet Micah: 'I will shew thee, O man, what is good and what the Lord requireth of thee: Verily, to do judgement, and to love mercy, and to walk solicitous with thy God.' This is the reason why many saints pleased God even before the use of holy temples, and why other saints, staying in deserts and wasteland even after sanctuaries to God had been constructed in different places, served the omnipotent Lord by moral excellence alone.

15. Let it suffice that we have recounted these matters about the construction and uses of holy places by virtue of the small measure of our dullness and laziness. Now let us add what God Himself has appointed concerning sacrifices and offerings which are presented to Him in them.

We read that Abel and Cain were the first to offer gifts to the Lord: the former from the natural offspring of the sheep which he tended, the latter from the earthly fruits which he acquired for God by skill and labour. The gifts of both were not accepted with the same honour because they were offered for a different motive; the witness is the judgement of divine Respect and the madness of Cain, envying his brother's good fortune, declined into the guilt of murder.

Noah also made an offering to the Lord after the flood from among the clean animals 'for a sweet savor'. We read that Abraham also and Jacob and Job, the exemplar of patience, offered sacrifices and whole burnt offerings to the Lord.

Now in fact one must learn from the Books themselves how manifold are the precepts for offerings in the Law, where it is commanded that the flesh and blood of animals and birds, products of the earth and fruits of the trees are to be offered in different ways. All of these things, together with the prefigurations of legal observances, although they prefigured the truth of the Gospel by their use, were, however, imposed upon a people who were weak and, as it were, hungering for flesh and blood; they were to be observed until the time when the Lord of the law and the prophets should come and fulfil all the things which had been foretold about Him in clear or allegorical words or had been marked before in the symbolical rites of victims, sacrifices and ceremonies.

It was surely done in this way so that when the truth of the Gospel dawned, neither should believers from among the Jews be prevented from observing those things, as if they were sacrilegious and profane, nor should those from the Gentiles who came to the faith be obliged to take them up as if they were necessary to the salvation of Christians.

16. And so Christ, who is the 'end of the law' for believers, submitting to the dispensation of the flesh, did not reject the statutes of the law, seeing that they were instituted by God, but rather fulfilled them in Himself so as to bring them to an end; in fact He transmitted the new sacraments of a new testament in order to teach the new man, and completing the old statutes by His death, He affirmed the new by His resurrection. For indeed at the supper which He had with the disciples before His final surrender He transmitted to the same disciples, after the ceremonies of the old passover, the sacraments of His body and blood in the substance of bread and wine. And He thoroughly instructed [them] to celebrate those sacraments as a commemoration of His most holy Passion.

Therefore, nothing could be found more suitable than these forms for expressing the unity of Head and members, because clearly bread is

made from many grains into one body by the coagulating action of water, and wine is pressed out from many grapes, <p.490> just as the body of Christ is made whole from the united multitude of saints.

For this reason it was deliberately prescribed by men of old that wine should not be offered in the sacrifice without the admixture of water, so that clearly, it might be indicated through this that the 'people who are the waters' (according to John) should not be separated from Christ whose blood is in the chalice. Therefore, wine is not offered without water nor water without wine, because Christ did not suffer otherwise than for His people, nor can the people be saved otherwise than by the Passion of Christ.

17. Now Christ is said to be a priest 'according to the order of Melchizedek', something which the apostle Paul argued most fully by a sound account of numerous examples, by which it is recognised that the same priest of almighty God is known to have foreshown Jesus Christ the Son of God, Who offered His Own Self to the Father on our behalf. Therefore, our Lord the true Priest was deemed worthy to provide a suitable kind of sacrifice for the sacrament of His body and blood. Clearly, just as we read that Melchizedek living before circumcision and the ceremonials of the law offered bread and wine in faith, so the Lord Himself, made High Priest in accordance with the order not of Aaron, but of Melchizedek, and being just and justifying him who is in faith, transmitted to His followers in faith the same kinds of sacrifice after the fulfilment of the law.

This is why we do not doubt that we are justified through faith without the works of the law, as long as we imitate in the freedom of faith and devotion those whom we know have pleased God through faith without the more constraining slavery of the law.

Therefore, while God was known in Judea, and while sacrifices were obliged to be offered in the one locality of tabernacle or temple, men

were taught, or rather allowed to present diverse and sumptuous offerings, so that a servile religion might be conscientiously performed in oppressive obedience. But in fact after the praiseworthy name of the Lord dawned over all the earth, and when in all places and nations not an individual but a general priesthood came into being, when a total unity of the faithful assembled together not in one place corporally but in one faith spiritually, it was prescribed that the faithful should consecrate to the Lord simple offerings which would contain the truth of the sacrament and which would not oppress the children by adoption with a burden of expenditure.

But it is not to be considered by mortals' reason why He, who is always the same and can never be altered, should have prescribed or commanded these things or those, at this or that time, as if diverse and contradictory. For the Author and Ordainer of those times arranges whatever is done in time, not by His wisdom's temporal plan, but by the eternal one, justly, suitably and beneficially, although often in hidden ways.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that He has called the human race not from greater, stronger, more holy, more useful things to lesser, weaker, cheaper, more useless things. But just as the person of the Son, by the majesty of His nature excelled those servants who were sent before Him [sc. prophets], or angels, of course, or men, so He Himself, coming in the flesh, established for them greater things and taught the transformation from carnal things to spiritual, from earthly to heavenly, from temporal to eternal, from imperfect to perfect, from shadowy to substantive, from replicas to reality.

18. Therefore when the Son of God Himself says: 'For My flesh is meat indeed: and My blood is drink indeed', so we must understand that the same sacraments of our redemption are also truly the body and blood

of the Lord, so that we may trust the pledges of that perfect unity which we shall have with our Head, now in hope, hereafter in reality.

From this <p.491> they have been called sacraments from sanctification or invisible virtue. It is also why those who deviate from the wholesomeness of members of Christ by the filthiness of capital offences are suspended from those very sacraments by ecclesiastical decree. For he who worthily eats and drinks the body and blood of the Lord indicates that he is in God, and God in him; in fact, a person who either does not take the medicine or uses it unworthily, demonstrates by his becoming enfeebled that he is far from the Physician; for He does not lie who says: 'Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you', and so on.

In fact, on account of this we understand that the holy Fathers quite specifically decreed that those in mortal sin should be prevented from approaching the Lord's sacraments lest receiving those things unworthily they become involved in an even greater offence -- like Judas whom the devil is said to have seized upon more completely after he had rashly received bread from the Master, so that the crime which he had first conceived with accursed premeditation he then accomplished with the most accursed execution -- or as the apostle said referring to the Corinthians, lest presumptuous people run into sickness of body and weakness and death itself; and so that suspended from communion, they might be compelled by the terror of the same exclusion and by the very curse of condemnation, to grasp more zealously the remedy of penitence and to gaze more avidly at the pleasures of recovering salvation.

19. Although the use of these sacraments, however, was transmitted by the Lord Himself and by the apostles and by men like the apostles throughout the whole extent of the universal church, nevertheless we understand from the canons, and principally [from those] of the Apostles,

that in the earliest times some people used to present certain other kinds of offerings. In their third chapter [sc. of the Canons of the Apostles] it is written as follows: 'If in the sacrifice upon the altar any bishop or presbyter offers certain other things contrary to the regulation of the Lord, that is, either honey or milk or fermented liquor instead of wine and producing certain prepared dishes or fowl or animals or vegetables in some manner contrary to the regulation of the Lord, let him be deposed at the proper time'; and in the fourth: 'Let it not be allowed that anything is offered at the altar when the holy offering is being celebrated except for new corn and grapes and oil for lamps and *thimiama*, that is, incense.'

Therefore, while some things are forbidden to be offered, it is shown that they have been added to the offerings by some people, although contrary to the law; this is why Euticianus, the twenty-eighth bishop of the Roman see, decreed: 'Of fruits, only beans and grapes are to be blessed upon the altar', and he named these perhaps on this account: because the sacrament of the blood of the Lord is celebrated by wine, whereas the bean is the food of those who are fasting.

However, it was prescribed that various types of other things should be blessed by priests anywhere or, if anything at all is brought to the altar to be blessed, it should be absolutely set apart from the consecration of the Lord's sacraments by a special blessing. Therefore, just as instead of innumerable mandates of the law, 'a short word of the Gospel hath the Lord made upon the earth'; so also instead of diverse rites of sacrifices, a simple offering of bread and wine is sufficient for the faithful, who do not seek the truth that is to come in a multitude of poor imitations but hold it evident in the manifestation of deeds.

This is why the error of certain simple-minded people born from the seed-plot of Jewish superstitions, and certain traces of its antiquity

continuing until the present, has now been suppressed for the most part by the endeavour of knowledgeable men, and, if it has been confirmed anywhere that a still-destructive sprout of this pestilence has revived, it must be cut off at the roots by a spiritual sword. I speak of that error by which some people used to consecrate the flesh of a lamb with a special benediction at Easter, <p.492> placing it near or under the altar, and on the same day of resurrection received some of the same flesh before other corporeal foods. An offshoot of this benediction is still practised by many people.

How superfluous it is! And [its being] inconsistent with the sacraments of Christian perfection anyone easily perceives, who truly understands that 'Christ our pasch is sacrificed' and wishes to feast 'not with the old leaven, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.'

20. It seems that this must also be mentioned, that we read that certain people received the sacraments themselves sometimes while fasting, sometimes after eating. We read these words in the canons of the African council, chapter VIII: 'Let the sacraments of the altar be celebrated only by men who are fasting, except on the one day of the year when the Lord's supper is celebrated', etc. Indeed, those people thought that one ought to communicate on that day after a meal because we read that the Lord transmitted the sacraments of the New Testament to the disciples after the supper of the legal Passover.

In fact others from a certain particular sect, judging that they ought to be restored by corporeal food before receiving the sacraments not once a year like those just mentioned but more frequently, used to communicate after meals and a full stomach, as if they were about to confirm their bodily needs by sacred things. Socrates gives evidence in his *Ecclesiastical History*, where, mentioning the different customs of the

churches, after many variations in fasting and ceremonies, he asserted these things among the rest: 'But even in respect to the celebration of Masses a certain diversity is found. For while throughout the established churches in the entire world the sacrifices are celebrated on Saturday every single week, certain people in Alexandria and Rome do not do this because of an ancient tradition. In fact, Egyptians living near Alexandria and the inhabitants of the Thebaid hold Masses on Saturday but do not receive the sacraments in the customary way; for after they have feasted and been filled up with all the food, around vespers, and after they have made the offering, they communicate'. We read a little further on: 'In fact, in Syrian Antioch they have the altar not towards the east of the church but more towards the west'. We also discussed certain things about this subject above.

And indeed it is far from clear by what authority those people wished to do this, that they used to communicate every Saturday after dinner or supper. Certainly, the fact that earlier generations were allowed to communicate on the anniversary of the Lord's supper after they had dined seems to have arisen from the reason explained above. But we know that it was prescribed by the following generations, by a decent and thoughtful deliberation, that the holy sacraments should always be celebrated by those who are fasting.

We must not eat first and communicate afterwards, therefore, [just] because the Lord, the Fulfilment of the law and Author of grace, first fulfilled the passover ordained by law and afterwards instituted the sacraments of the Gospel. In the same way, we are not compelled to be circumcised bodily first and to be baptized afterwards, although we know that our Lord 'made of a woman, made under the law' was first circumcised according to the statutes of the law, and then, for the fulfilment of all justice, submitted to the bath of salvation and consecrated its origins for us.

Therefore, that the sacraments themselves should always be celebrated by those who are fasting is now both approved by the general practice of the entire church <p. 493> and demonstrated by the edicts of the synod at Braga, where the above-mentioned taking of communion on the day of the Lord's supper after a broken fast is also precluded by insertion of excommunication.

And so if communicating is not permitted after dinner on that day, to which both the example of the Lord and the approval of certain people seemed to lend some support, much less is it permitted at other times when we know that neither of these is associated with it.

However, that this should be done this way was demanded not only by the decency of moderation, according to which it is appropriate that the receptacles of hearts be prepared for the reception of such great sanctity, lest, if it be taken unworthily, the medicine be changed into judgement, but also by the important reason of necessity: for clearly it is plausible that those who dine before communion, if a bad habit (as often happens) advances to worse, may occasionally slip from small refreshments to the excess of drunkenness.

And what is so absurd as to take spiritual and life-giving food at a time when from an excess of drinks an inebriated person cannot decently handle corporeal nourishment? And indeed, the Apostle taught that: 'Let all ... things be done decently and according to order.' Such restraints, although they are necessary in every single performance of sacred works, nevertheless ought to be observed again and again in the most holy veneration of the body and blood of the Lord. As a result, holding peace and love in our heart decently, that is humbly, fasting and sober, we may partake of the same sacraments with cleanliness of body and heart, in so far as it can be done, in order that we may know that their sanctification, signifying the life of the spirit, is far different from other foods. After first being refreshed by the comfort of these things, let us then take bodily sustenance in its proper order.

The canons state distinctly and clearly, however, and we have mentioned above, that there must never be banqueting in churches, either before or after communion.

21. Because we have indeed touched on a few things concerning the nature of the sacraments, it seems that we ought to add how the practice of those sacraments became a daily celebration. And since there is varied treatment of this matter among the Doctors of the church, we are collecting in summary fashion what we can, in such a way that we do not put the names of individual authors because of the great number [of them]. Let us then attempt to add nothing that we have not so read, or concluded from a text, or understood from words of men speaking the truth, or learned from prevalent practice.

Some, as we have learned from *discussions* of the Fathers, proposed communicating once a year, so that evidently those who were purifying body and soul by long preparation, might at length worthily attain the communion of heavenly table; and yet *some of them* made the same yearly celebration on the day of the Lord's supper in order that the grace of those sacraments should only be repeated there where it had first been manifest. This is why they cancelled fasting on that day, just as we are accustomed to do on feast days, and they completed Masses before noon, which is sometimes indicated in canons and is completely forbidden.

But it seemed to others, who were more cautious, that those people approached the annual celebration of their observance more unworthily because they thought themselves purified by the long delay, since they believed that they were sufficiently worthy and better to undertake the reception of holy things; however, [it seemed to these more cautious people that] things which are holy ought to be repeated more frequently by those who are less worthy, <p.494> because that spiritual medicine is

of such a kind that it both aids the healthy to persevere in good health and assists the injured in the renewal of virtue; it is received more worthily because those who receive it, supported by the protection of humility, never think themselves sufficiently worthy for its reception.

However, those who are admitted to that remedy with some delay in accordance with the judgement of their spiritual physicians, ought to abstain for a time, therefore, lest applying remedies unsuitable to their conditions too hastily, they become more seriously ill, and what is a restorative to some becomes a detriment to them.

Others who celebrate Masses every Sunday or every Saturday in the East and in Spain believed that a commemoration of the Lord's Passion was sufficient if they celebrated every week. This is also why some people believed that the Lord's prayer, which, as we believe, has been said right from the age of the apostles before communion and the breaking of bread, must be recited only at that time when they were celebrating the sacrifices. They wanted that bread, which is requested in the same prayer, to be understood to be 'supersubstantialem', not ordinary: and so the result was that those who communicated once a week, also recounted the Lord's prayer once a week.

Cyprian, however, declared it must be said daily, saying: 'And so in the Lord's prayer we request that our bread, that is Christ, be given to us daily, so that we who abide and live in Christ might not regress from sanctification and his body.' Again Hilary: 'And because the prayer is daily, daily also the bread of life is prayed for, that it be given.' St. Augustine said: 'The daily prayer of the faithful makes amends for the error of the daily and small sins without which this life is not led.'

Indeed, to earlier generations (just as was said before) it was also pleasing; to some, however, the sacraments of divine gifts must be celebrated not only on Sundays and universal feast days, such as the

Nativity, Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension of the Lord and Pentecost, but also on feasts of saints. For we read that Felix, the twenty-seventh pope, established that 'Masses should be celebrated over the memorials of martyrs': and what is more, blessed Pope Gregory, the sixty-sixth pope, taught 'Masses should be celebrated over the body of the blessed apostle Peter.'

When these things had been observed in this way, the next generation began to increase weekdays of fasting, truly understanding that daily bread must be requested daily and daily offered to and received by those for whom it is appropriate. In fact, Melchiades, holding the bishopric of Rome thirty-third in order, prescribed that 'On no account should any of the faithful make a practice of fasting on Sunday or Thursday', for pagans were used to celebrating a kind of fast on those days. Therefore, the aforementioned blessed Gregory in the regular arrangement of the liturgy of the year accordingly left the Thursday within Lent vacant [sc. no fasting on that day] so that since it was a feast day like Sunday, it might also be occupied by the liturgy of a special Lord's day. Since this Thursday presently began to be designated as a day of fasting like others, Gregory II prescribed that it was a liturgical day for masses and prayers, and collecting material from various places he enlarged the liturgy for that day.

Therefore, since we read that the Hebrews celebrated their carnal offerings daily at the command of the Lord, why should not Christians offer their spiritual sacrifices daily, and do so frequently for the defence of their salvation?

<p.495> For indeed we read with the witness of blessed Gregory (whom we have mentioned above) that after Cassius, bishop of Narni, was ordained, he offered a sacrifice of holy offering to the Lord every day, and that it was impressed upon him by the divine Dignity that he should pursue his accustomed practices, and he was greatly strengthened to persevere by the great grace of promise.

However, in the *Book of Ecclesiastical Dogma* Gennadius, a priest of Marseilles as it were maintaining a position about half way between the ancient and the modern -- that is because some still communicate only on Sundays, others also communicate daily -- tempered his judgement by such a balance that he says he neither praises nor censures a daily receiving of the Eucharist; in fact he urges one to communicate every Sunday, if mortal sins do not forbid it and the mind is not fixed on the delight of sinning.

Among the Greeks, also, those who go without communion for two or three Sundays are said to be excommunicated.

Indeed, venerable Pope Sylvester, the thirty-fourth pope from blessed Peter, taught that a cleric should keep week-days so that, as among the pagans only week-days were said to have been designated for some festivals, and as Moses also said, 'These are the feasts of the Lord', so for Christians and especially for the clergy all week-days might be deemed holy.

So it seems extremely reasonable that we should be occupied every single day with the liturgy, and that, so far as the more serious blemishes of mind or body do not oppose it, we should continually seek the bread and blood of the Lord without which we cannot live, and that we should take it with the desire of that protection rather than the confidence of our purity. We should imitate the wholesome zeal of the primitive church, about which it was so written in the Acts of the Apostles: 'However, they were persevering in the doctrine of the apostles and in the communication of the breaking of bread and in prayers'; and further on: 'And continuing daily with one accord in the temple and breaking bread from house to house, they took their meat with gladness and simplicity of heart: Praising God'; and again: 'And every day they ceased not in the temple and from house to house to teach and preach Christ Jesus.' Note that he says that first they broke bread and then took food.

22. Some diversity, however, is accustomed to appear among priests: there is one sort who wishes to celebrate mass only once a day, doubtless believing that the same sacrament of Christ's Passion is the universal support of all necessities, because the One who is the Lord and Judge of the living and the dead died once for our sins 'to exhaust the sins of many'; whereas another thinks it suitable to repeat the same sacraments twice, three times, or as often as you like in a day, believing that the more frequently the Passion of Christ is commemorated, the more fully God is bent to pity. And he probably thinks his practice ought to be supported because Roman practice occasionally has to celebrate two or three masses at one *feast*, such as on the Nativity of the Lord the Redeemer and on the feast days of certain saints; <p.496> for indeed, Telesphorus, the ninth bishop of the Roman see, established that on the Lord's Nativity mass was to be celebrated at night. And really I would not have believed it absurd if, when several masses must be celebrated in one day, being persuaded by necessity or inclination, one priest might celebrate two or three rather than give up some. Add to this that the practice of the entire church is accustomed to celebrate mass rather frequently for the living and the dead, for alms-giving and other different reasons; the liturgy assigned to these masses is also evidence for this.

Therefore, on days distinguished by a public celebration, either those necessities of different things [sc. votive masses] must be omitted, or when the public observance and private necessity [sc. votive mass] coincide for him, the performance of each must be set apart in their own liturgy or (which we have mentioned before) the different interests must be satisfied by the one offering.

Through the reports of reliable writers it has constantly come to our attention that Pope Leo, as he himself admitted, rather often celebrated seven or nine ceremonies of masses in one day, whereas

Boniface, archbishop and martyr, celebrated mass only once a day. Both lived not long before our time and were as distinguished in knowledge as importance.

And so as long as his faith is consistent, 'let every man abound in his own sense', so long as those making the offering more frequently do not think that God cannot otherwise discern petitions, and those presenting the host once a day do not think that the refined judgement of their faith is more acceptable to divine Consideration than the devotion of those mentioned previously.

23. Therefore, since we have shown as best we can how the liturgy of the Mass became a daily celebration, from this point onward let us explain, as far as we ^{been able to} have/discover, why, when and by whom the liturgy of the Mass was prescribed. What we now do with a complex liturgy of prayers, readings, chants and consecrations, it is thought that the apostles and their immediate successors simply performed with prayers and the commemoration of the Lord's Passion as He Himself taught. According to the evidence given above, this is why they broke bread from house to house, which Luke also shows in another passage saying, 'On the first day of the week, when we were assembled to break bread', etc.

And the tradition of older writers is that in the earliest periods Mass was usually celebrated just as we are accustomed to do now before communion on Good Friday -- when Masses are not celebrated among the Romans -- namely with the Lord's prayer put first, and just as our Lord Himself taught, after the commemoration of His Passion was done, those to whom it was permitted communicated in the body and blood of our Lord.

Subsequently, as the religion gained more ground, on that account the worshippers of Christ more fully enlarged the liturgy of the Mass, either because the stability of peace spread the limits of the Church further, or because the number of saints was made more numerous as [Christian] practice increased.

We have already said that such things also happened in this way in the construction and embellishments of sacred buildings. It was not that some of the succeeding generations were superior to the apostles in knowledge or <p.497> more religious, but, because they [sc. the apostles] were especially concerned with calling men from faithlessness to faith, from darkness into light and with restoring them steadfast in the truth, they were better able (as was their intent) by the very simplicity of their religion to convince ignorant men. This is also why, as we read, they did not wish believers from the Gentiles to be burdened at first by the responsibility of legal mandates.

Therefore, many of the Greek- and Latin-speaking people prescribed the order of the Mass as seemed best to them; and the followers of the Roman tradition particularly, taking over each in their own time the practice of observances from blessed Peter, the first of the apostles, added what they judged appropriate for their circumstances. This is why so many nations followed the Roman usage in the liturgy, both because such great teachings are illustrious because of their origins from the chief apostle, and because no church throughout all the world has remained so pure as the Roman from every taint of heresies in all times past.

Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, also arranged the order of the Mass as well as the rest of the liturgies for his church and others in Liguria; this is still kept today in the church of Milan.

And now let us explain, as best we can, the arrangement of the Roman Mass.

Antiphons at the introit were established by Celestinus, the forty-fifth pope, as we read in the deeds of the Roman pontiffs [sc. *Liber Pontificalis*], since up until his time only one reading of the apostle and the Gospel were read before the sacrifice.

The litanies, however, which follow, that is the *Kyrie Eleison* and *Christe Eleison*, are believed to have been taken from the Greeks' prac-

tice both because the words are Greek and the Greeks themselves repeat them quite frequently in their Mass.

The hymn of the angels [sc. *GLoria in excelsis*], however, in which, to the few words which were offered by the angels in praise of God at the Lord's Nativity, the subsequent holy Fathers added the most delightful and most appropriate expressions for the praise of the holy and indivisible Trinity, so that just as its beginning was composed by celestial attendants, so also the whole of its sequence might be filled with divine mysteries: I speak of that hymn which Telesphorus, the ninth bishop of the Romans, prescribed to be sung before the sacrifice, so that at a celebration of such great sanctity the minds of the congregation might be soothed by the sweetness of an angelic melody.

But here we might ask that if the same hymn began to be sung before the sacrifice during the time of this pope, why do we read that at a time long afterwards, under Celestine, only a reading of the apostle and the Gospel preceded the sacrifice, so that he [sc. Celestine] seems to have needed to put before [the reading] antiphons from the psalms of David to be chanted before those readings? To which we might give two answers: either it was indeed established by Telesphorus that the same hymn be sung at the beginning of the Mass, but in the time of his successors this same ruling of his was neglected until the entire order of the Mass was more fully arranged by subsequent generations; or it was thus prescribed by him in this way, that this hymn should only be used in the most important festivals and only by bishops, a point which also seems to have been prescribed at the beginning of the sacramentary. For that reason it was stipulated until the time of Celestine, that only readings were used before the sacrifice. In this way it might be understood that, although that hymn was sometimes sung before the Mass (as we said before), it was not, however, [the case] that it was continually placed before the readings in all Masses by all priests until the same Celestine established that antiphons should be sung at the introit.

Or it could have happened in the following manner, that the same Celestine taught that *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus* and so on, be said before the sacrifice [instead of the *Gloria*]. <p.498> This [sc. the *Sanctus*] could equally be called the Hymn of the Angels because Isaiah the prophet records that the Seraphim proclaimed its beginning, but at the same point where Telesphorus is said to have placed the Hymn of the Angels before the sacrifice, some or other ignorant people added the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, thinking that nothing else could be interpreted as an angelic hymn except that which the angels sang at the birth of our Lord. If those words, i.e. *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, had not been placed in the chapter about Telesphorus, the question asked above would not have arisen, and that angelic hymn would be understood as being that one which is sung before the action. This [latter explanation] seems to be supported by this assertion: we read that Symmachus, the 53rd bishop of the Romans, 'decreed that on every Sunday and on saints' feast days the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* should be sung'. And so, as we said above, either Telesphorus did not add that hymn or, if he did, his stipulation remained unfulfilled for a long time.

Prayers, moreover, which we call collects, because we collect, that is conclude, their essential petitions in a short summary, have been put together by various authorities as seemed appropriate to each of them. For those present, who were more prominent than the rest, used to conclude an activity with a short prayer, not only within the liturgy of the Mass, but also in other prayers, meetings, and discussions; we also perceive this in the writings of the holy Fathers when some of them requested others to collect a prayer for the sake of doing honour.

And the venerable Doctor, Augustine, in some of his sermons to the people finished his discourse in this way so that he might say at the end: 'Turn to the Lord', where it is understood that he added a prayer and directed a general petition to the Lord. So also today priests are

used to adding short prayers, that is collects, at the conclusions of a night or day assembly. For there are some kinds [of prayers] that ought to be said nowhere else than at the celebration of the sacrifice; whereas there are others which we can use both in the liturgy of the Mass and also in other places and at other times.

However, just as we said before, as the practice of the divine religion increased, the composition of prayers and liturgy for the church was also increasing gradually with many additions made from excellent, mediocre and minimal knowledge which seemed appropriate for explaining things. This is why we believe that at the councils at Carthage and Melivitano it was prescribed that mass-set prayers and prayers composed by just anyone at all should not be said unless they had been approved at the council. For example, Pope Gelasius, the fifty-first pope, is said to have put in order mass-set prayers composed by himself as well as by others, and the Gallican churches used their own prayers, which are still kept by many churches.

And because many things by so many undetermined authors seemed dubious and lacking in sound meaning, blessed Gregory took the trouble to join together each of the reasonable things and, after he set aside those which seemed either excessive or inappropriate, he put together a book which is called a sacramentary, as is shown very clearly from its title; and if any things are found there which are still defective in meaning, one must not believe they were placed there by Gregory, but added afterwards by others who were less diligent.

<P.499> It is not quite clear who first prescribed readings from the Apostle and Gospel before the celebration of the sacrifice. Nevertheless, we believe that the same arrangement was made by the first successors to the apostles principally with this motive: in the Gospels the same sacrifices are commanded to be celebrated, and in the Apostle it is taught how they ought to be celebrated, both so that before the sacra-

ment of the most sacred action they might call to mind the foundation of their salvation and faith from the Gospel, and that they might receive from the Apostle instruction in the same faith and a way of life pleasing to God. Indeed, what is more lowly in value is placed first in order, so that the mind of the listeners might progress from lesser to greater understanding, and gradually ascend from the lowest to the highest.

Moreover, Anastasius, the forty-first pope, prescribed 'that whenever the holy Gospel is read aloud, priests should not be seated, but should stand bowing', so that they clearly show also by their body the humility which is taught by the Lord.

It seems, however, that at that time no other readings except those of the apostle Paul were placed before the Gospel; the writer of the *Deeds of Popes* [sc. the *Liber Pontificalis*] only named them when he added to the discussion of antiphons: 'This used not to be done, but only a letter from the blessed apostle Paul and the Holy Gospel used to be read'; Pope Damasus writing to Jerome also expresses that in almost the same words. And perhaps in the first instance only the readings of Paul were read at that point; afterwards, however, when everything developed more extensively, other readings not only from the New but also from the Old Testament were intermingled as the nature of the feasts required.

We should not wonder that it is recorded that the liturgy was gradually enlarged during the time when many necessary things were still lacking since we see that up to the present day readings and prayers and different kinds of praises are added to all those which now almost overflow, so that in this, too, that prophecy should seem to be fulfilled: 'Many shall pass over, and knowledge shall be manifold'. But one must see, as blessed St. Augustine says, 'that those things are sung which are so written, while those which are not so written are not sung.'

Responsories and alleluias, which are sung before the Gospel, seem to have been added next, after antiphons began to be sung at the Introit,

and they seem to have been forbidden in the Spanish canons, which were composed a good deal later. For in those canons it was decreed that no ^{at all} hymn_^ should be placed between the reading of the Apostle and the Gospel in the arrangement of the Mass; from this we understand that certain people had tried it at the time, but because of its novelty, their wish was not yet accepted by some; nevertheless, because it was recommended afterwards by Roman use, it spread to all the churches of the Latin-speaking people.

The Creed of the catholic faith is also rightly recited in the Mass after the Gospel, so that through the holy Gospel 'with the heart, we believe unto justice', but through the Creed 'with the mouth, confession is made unto salvation.' As for the Creed, which we have adopted into the Mass in imitation of the Greeks, it should be noted that they converted this one rather than others into the sweetness of chant because it is the particular creed of the council of Constantinople. And perhaps it seemed more suited to musical rhythms than the Nicene Creed which is an earlier one. [They also chose it] so that the piety of the faithful should repeat the medicine composed at the seat of their own royal city to counter the poisons of the heretics even in the very celebrations of the sacraments. That practice, therefore, is believed to have come from them to the Romans; but among the Gauls and Germans <p.500> the same Creed began to be repeated in the liturgy of the Mass more widely and frequently after the deposition of Felix the heretic, condemned under the most glorious Charles, ruler of the Franks.

In the council of Toledo it was also prescribed that every Sunday the same Creed 'be recited according to the custom of the eastern churches, so that before the Lord's prayer is said, the true faith might have a more manifest testimony and the hearts of the people might approach the tasting of the body and blood of Christ having been purified'.

In a council of the same place it was prescribed that the 'Hymn of the Three Boys' should also be sung at Mass every Sunday in the pulpit;

because of the many parts of the liturgy the Romans do not do this except on four days of the year when the twelve readings are completed in full.

Although the offertory chant, which is sung during the offering, is said to have come into Christian practice from the custom of former people [sc. the Jews], nevertheless we do not explicitly read who exactly added it to our liturgy. We can also make the same admission in the case of the antiphon which is sung at communion, since we really believe that originally the holy Fathers made the offering and communicated in silence, a practice which we also observe to this day at the Saturday of Holy Easter [sc. Easter Vigil].

But, as has been said above, through the years the ornament of the church progressed in different ways and regions, and will not cease to be augmented until the end [of time].

Tradition has it that at length blessed Gregory, just as [he completed] the ordering of the Mass and of consecrations, so also he completed the discipline of chant largely into that arrangement which is observed to this day as the most fitting, as is also mentioned at the beginning of the Antiphonary.

You must realize, however, that some people make offerings in an improper way; those who in attending to the number of offerings rather than the power of the sacraments often make offerings as they pass through at those Masses at which they are unwilling to remain. For indeed it is more reasonable to make an offering there where you wish to remain, so that you who have offered a gift to the Lord can likewise offer the devout request that your gift be accepted. It is not without reason that it is said in the action, 'Those who are offering to you', not 'those who have offered', so that we should know that they ought to remain in a state of offering until the things offered arrive at the point for which they have been offered [sc. until they are consecrated].

But there also seems to be no small error in this, [namely] that some people think that they cannot make a full commemoration of those for

whom they are making an offering, except by offering individual offerings for individual persons; or they think one should not make an offering for the living and the dead at the same time, when in fact we know that One died for all, and that it is one bread and blood that the Universal Church offers. But if it pleases anyone to make an individual offering for individual persons for the sake of abundance of devotion alone and delight of increasing prayers, let him do so, but not for the foolish belief whereby he might think that the one sacrament of God is not a universal remedy. For he is imperfect in faith in some way who believes that God cannot distinguish when with one request on behalf of many He is asked what each one needs, or who thinks that God feels disgust when the same offering is presented now for one and then for another.

We do not know who first arranged the preface of the 'action' whereby the people's disposition is stimulated toward actions of thanksgiving, and then the prayer of human devotion is asked <p.501> to be allowed to join the praises of the heavenly hosts, or [who first arranged] the action itself whereby the holy sacrament of the Lord's body and blood is completed and which the Romans call the canon (as it is found quite frequently in the *Liber pontificalis*). Nevertheless, we do know that the preface has been augmented by additional sections not just once but quite frequently both because on certain feast days the preface is said otherwise than on ordinary days, and [because] occasionally it is not changed itself, but special commemorations of some things are inserted in the middle.

That the 'action', or canon, was composed in stages is recognised in particular from the fact that names of saints, whose association and fellowship are entreated there, are found placed in two locations. For it is not true, as some people say, that two lists of names were made there because just when the first names were placed in that canon, those who

were placed after that had not yet been crowned. For we know that John the Baptist was not only contemporary with the same apostles but even earlier, and indeed Stephen was contemporary and both were crowned before the apostles. [We also know] that the rest who are named in the next sequence lived at the same time as those who were placed before. Hence it is agreed that the subsequent Doctors of the Church added what seemed appropriate to the ancient decrees of the Fathers, so that as the number of religious increased so, too, the institutions of religion might grow.

We know, in fact, that the first part of the previously mentioned canon is old above all because the order of the apostles is not so placed in it as is found in the more corrected Gospels: that probably happened, therefore, because that part was composed before the Gospels were corrected to what is now considered the true version among the Latin-speaking people. For in the earlier editions, as Jerome is witness, not only was the order of the Gospels changed, but there was also a confusion and mixing of words and meanings.

Alexander, the seventh pope 'inserted the Lord's Passion into the Eucharistic prayer of the priests when Mass is celebrated'. When it was so written about him in the *Liber pontificalis*, it seems uncertain whether he arranged only that part of the action at which the Passion of the Lord is commemorated or the whole thing from the beginning to that very point. But it seems contrary to this second opinion the fact that in that part saints are named who lived both before and many years after his time, unless we maintain that only those who came before him were commemorated by him, whereas the names of the rest were inserted by others, each [name] in their own times; and this is why the name of the same Alexander is found in the subsequent list.

In fact Gregory, whom we have previously mentioned quite frequently, 'added in the Eucharistic prayer of the canon "and dispose our days in Thy peace"'; [this is] where some people wish it to be understood

that he composed the entire succession of the canon from that point until the end. The fact that the Lord's passion which Alexander inserted in the same prayer is celebrated after these verses seems to argue against this [latter] opinion. This is why some people believe that Gregory added to the earlier statutes no more than those three prayers, that is, for the peace of the age, for delivery from eternal torments, and for procuring the fellowship of the saints.

Leo, too, acting as bishop among the Romans in the forty-sixth place, 'decreed that within the action of the sacrifice should be said: "a holy sacrifice", etc.' In reference to this also one may ask whether he added what follows on from that point or whether he inserted at that point only the words themselves, that is: 'holy sacrifice, immaculate host'. <P.502> On this point because there is no clear evidence, we do not wish to be too definitive. Nevertheless, from this it is clear that Gregory, who lived long after Leo, did not compose the entire canon from that point where he inserted his own words to the end.

Then Gregory, the third pope of the same name, making an oratory in the basilica of blessed Peter in honour of all the saints, and establishing daily services and Mass to be celebrated there for their veneration, decreed at the same time 'that the priest ought to say in the canon: "Whose ceremony is celebrated in the whole world today in the sight of Your Majesty, our Lord God"'; which, because it pertains specifically to that celebration, is not noted in the canon which is generally said.

The same canon is called the action because in it the Lord's sacraments are prepared; just as the same action is called the canon because it is the lawful and canonical preparation of the sacraments.

The Lord's prayer follows with suitable adjacent [prayers]: for the preceding prayer states that boldness with which we dare to call God the Creator, 'Father'; the other [prayer] following explains how and from

what evils we seek to be freed by the Lord. The Lord's prayer, which was incorporated in the consecrations of the sacrifices before the other prayers, is worthily placed at the conclusion of the most sacred canon, so that purified by this, those who are about to communicate might worthily receive for true salvation what has been solemnly prepared.

That the peace be given before communion was instituted by the decrees of Pope Innocent so that of course, what we say first in that sacred prayer with the promise of forgiveness, we might demonstrate that we are peaceful in that same activity.

That the *Agnus Dei* be sung by the priest and the people at the breaking of the Lord's body was prescribed by Sergius, 86th bishop of the Roman people, so that, while the Lord's body is being prepared for distribution, those who are about to receive might ask that He who was offered in innocence on their behalf might bring it about that they healthfully receive assurances of eternal salvation.

Furthermore, because the canons teach that he who is not communicating does not receive the peace, some people interpret it in this way, that no one ought to participate in the peace in any Masses except those in which he communicates; whereas others want only that person to be prohibited from the peace who has been suspended from communion by sacerdotal judgement; that person, however, who postpones communion for some reason at a time when, nevertheless, he is not suspended from communion, ought not to be separated from the grace of peace, lest his humility be stigmatized with a suspicion of more serious crimes.

And because we have discussed certain points relating to variation in communicating earlier, it seems that this should be added: there are some people who believe that it suffices because of the dignity of the sacraments to communicate once a day even if they have been present at several Masses; whereas there are others who wish to communicate, just as in one, so in all the Masses in a day at which they have been present. I

think that neither of them ought to be reproved because just as Augustine said about those who communicate daily and those who communicate more rarely: 'a reverence of holy things holds back the one, whereas love of the wholesome sacraments attracts the other.' For even the priest himself should not neglect communicating whenever he celebrates Mass in a day; but if he does not, he must be punished by canonical judgement. And it is not surprising that this should be so understood about a priest, <p.503> since at the councils of Saragossa and Toledo it was jointly prescribed concerning all men that, whoever receives the Eucharist and does not eat it, should be banished as if he were sacrilegious.

Moreover, the proper time of communicating is before the last prayer, which is said at the completion [of the Mass] because its petition is especially on behalf of those who are communicating. This is also why the desire of those who wish to communicate at every single Mass seems to be inflamed, because throughout the whole Mass it is prayed to the greatest possible degree and as if by name on behalf of those who are making the offering and communicating there.

Nevertheless, so that it may be believed that the same holy celebration of the Mass benefits not a few but many, we can and should say that the rest who are steadfast in faith and the devotion of offerings and communicatings are called, and indeed are, participants of the same offering and communion. However, although when only priests celebrate Mass, it can be understood that those are collaborators of the same action on whose behalf that liturgy is celebrated at that time, and whose role the priest performs in certain responses, nevertheless, one must still acknowledge that the lawful Mass is the one in which a priest takes part, [and someone] responding, offering and communicating, as indeed the very wording of mass-set prayers indicates in a clear manner.

It was prescribed at the council of Orléans that the people should not leave the Mass before the blessing of the priest; that blessing is understood to be the last prayer of the priest.

24. The time of holding Mass, however, is different according to the nature of the ceremonies. For occasionally it is celebrated before noon, occasionally around the ninth hour, sometimes towards evening, occasionally at night. For Pope Telesphorus established that at no time 'before the office of the third hour [sc. terce] should anyone presume to celebrate Mass; at this hour our Lord', according to the Gospel of Mark, is declared to have been crucified.

Among these matters one should note that there should be no fasting on Sundays and major feast days, where a requirement does not compel [it], just as the canons also show, nor should the Hymn of the Angels, namely, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, or the *Alleluia* be sung on fast days or ever after midday, except on the two Saturdays of Easter and Pentecost which are provided with special rites.

25. The utensils, too, in which our sacraments are principally placed and consecrated are chalices and patens. *Calix* comes from the Greek [word] which is *cylix*; paten from *patendo* (being open) because it is *patula* (broad and shallow); ampulla, as if it were not particularly *ampla* (large). Zepherinus, the sixteenth Roman bishop, established that [the bishop] celebrate Mass with glass patens; then subsequently Urban, the eighteenth pope, 'caused all the objects consecrated for the liturgy to be silver [and supplied] twenty-five silver patens.' For in this just as also in the rest of the liturgy, the ornament of the church increased more and more over the passage of time.

Boniface, martyr and bishop, asked if it were permissible to prepare the sacraments in wooden vessels, answered: 'At one time golden priests were using wooden chalices; <p.504> now, on the contrary, wooden priests use golden chalices.' Pope Sylvester established that 'the sacrifice of the altar should not be celebrated on silk or on dyed cloth,

but only on linen produced from the earth, just as the body of the Lord Jesus Christ was buried "in a clean linen cloth".

Also, priestly vestments grew through additions to that state of ornamentation which they now have. For in the earliest times they celebrated Mass dressed in ordinary clothing, just as even to this day certain people in the east are said to do.

However, Stephen, the twenty-fourth pope, established that 'priests and deacons should not use consecrated clothing for daily use, except in church' only; and Sylvester ordained that 'deacons should use dalmatics in church, and their left hand should be veiled with a *pallium* half wool and half linen'. And indeed at first priests were clothed in dalmatics before the use of chasubles, whereas afterwards when they [sc. priests] began to use chasubles, they granted dalmatics to deacons. Nevertheless, it is clear that bishops ought to use them [sc. dalmatics] from the fact that Gregory and other bishops of the Romans allowed their use to some bishops, but forbade it to others; by which it is understood that it [sc. a dalmatic] was not granted to all of them at that time. Now almost all bishops and some of the priests think it is permitted to them, that is, that they may be attired in a dalmatic under the chasuble.

It was prescribed at the council of Braga that a priest should not celebrate Mass without a stole.

Different people have added different things to sanctified clothing either in imitation of things which priests of a former time used, or in expression of an allegorical meaning. For the significance of the individual items which we now use has been sufficiently elaborated by our predecessors. They correspond, however, in their number to the ancient [items] because just as at one time [there were] a tunic, upper garment of linen, upper garment, oracular breast plate, belt, thigh bandage, mitre and knife, so now [there are] a dalmatic, alb, maniple, stole, girdle, sandals, chasuble and *pallium*; hence, just as only Jewish high-priests used the former, so only bishops use the latter.

26. To those things set out earlier, which it seemed necessary to say concerning the arrangement of the Mass, let us add what the Lord has furnished about the statutes of the Liturgy of the Hours.

One should know that a long time passed after the revelation of the Gospel before the liturgy of certain hours throughout the day and night was so arranged as they are performed now. We read in the Old Testament, however, that there were certain definite hours of prayer, such as a time for morning and evening sacrifice, and because we read that Daniel knelt in prayer three times a day, we must believe that he did not do so without a reason.

In the New Testament, also, numerous examples not only of praying but also of kneeling are found: for the Lord Jesus Christ, before His Passion, falling on His face adored His Father; Stephen, 'falling on his knees', prayed fervently for those stoning him; we also read about the apostle, Bartholomew, that he knelt one hundred times a day and one hundred times a night.

However, although the entire church observes the custom of kneeling, nevertheless the race of the Irish particularly pursued this practice, many of them kneeling on more occasions, many on fewer, but nevertheless at definite and numbered occasions throughout the day and night; ^{they} seemed to reiterate that practice not only for deploring sins, but also for the satisfying of daily devotion. <P.505> However, the canons indicate at which hours and times within public liturgies one should pray without kneeling, that is, on Sundays and major feast days and Quinquagesima [sc. the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost]; according to which [canons] those who are doing penance publicly should always kneel.

Therefore, the Liturgy of the Hours, although it is all celebrated by well considered authority and nothing is observed in it which the precedents or words of the holy Fathers do not confirm, nevertheless

certain things have been affirmed by clearer examples; for example we read that our Lord Himself spent the night in prayer; an earthquake reveals also that Paul and Silas prayed in the middle of the night in prison; the Holy Spirit descended upon the praying apostles about the third hour; at the sixth hour Peter 'went up to the higher parts of the house to pray', and again with John [went] into the temple for the ninth hour of prayer, in which [hour] also the angel appeared to Cornelius praying; there is also evidence from Philo that the primitive church among the Alexandrians celebrated predawn hymns along with other good practices. And so we learn from these and similar examples that among many people the hours were observed which are still the most honoured, but not with that distribution of psalms or prayers which we use now, and which we notice were begun about in the time of Theodosius the Elder and were gradually completed for many reasons.

For, as blessed Augustine testifies in the books of confessions [sc. his *Confessiones*], Ambrose of Milan, composing hymns of divine praise for the people, alleviated the persecution of Justina Augusta by the novelty of the hymns. Just as it is also written in the life of Ambrose himself: 'That is the time when antiphons, hymns and vigils began to be observed in the church of Milan.' Hilary of Poitiers 'also composed hymns, and it is written about Pope Gelasius that he composed treatises, and hymns after the custom of blessed Ambrose; in fact Damasus established 'that psalms should be chanted day and night in all the churches' and monasteries, and 'he prescribed this for bishops and priests.'

Then, John of Constantinople was the 'first to enrich prayers with evening hymns for this reason most particularly. The Arians used to hold services outside the city. However, on Saturday and Sunday they gathered inside the gates and along the arcades and sang hymns and antiphons composed according to the Arian doctrine; and doing this for the greatest part of the night, at dawn they went out, antiphons and all, through the

middle of the city to the gate, and assembled at their church. They kept on doing this repeatedly, however, as if to spite the orthodox, for they also sang this frequently: "Where are they who speak of the one with triple power?"; then, lest the simple people be attracted by songs of this kind, John instructed his people so that they, too, should be occupied with night-time hymns both so that their [sc. the Arians] activity would be obscured and the declaration of the faithful would be strengthened. Hence, the zeal of John which was ^{exceedingly} useful was restrained together with the crowd and the dangers.'

These things are so recorded in the tenth book of the Ecclesiastical History, which is called the Tripartita, and a little later on this is added to them: "It should be said, however, whence [the practice] that antiphons are sung in church originated: Ignatius, the third bishop of Antioch in Syria after the apostle Peter, [a man] who also lived with the apostles themselves, saw a vision of angels, [and] how they were singing hymns to the Holy Trinity during the antiphons; <p.506> and it is demonstrated that he handed down to the church at Antioch the form of the vision, and from this it passed to all the churches.'

However, it should be remarked that not only were hymns sung which flow in [quantitative] metres or [accentual] rhythms, such as [those which] Ambrose and Hilary, Bede, priest of the English, and Prudentius, scholar of the Spaniards, and many other people composed, but also the other chants of praise which were produced with suitable words and pleasant melodies; this is why among the Hebrews the book of Psalms is called the Book of Hymns. And although in some churches metrical hymns are not sung, nevertheless in all [churches] general hymns, that is praises, are sung.

Also, that those [hymns] which are properly composed must be sung, the authority of the council at Toledo indicated among other things saying in this way: 'and because hymns are known to have been composed by

some men with great devotion for the praise of God and for the triumphs of the apostles and martyrs, as indeed are those which the blessed doctors Hilary and Ambrose produced, nevertheless, certain people particularly condemn them because they did not arise from the writings of the holy Canons or the apostolic tradition: therefore, let them also reject that hymn composed by men which we sing daily in the public and private liturgy at the end of all the psalms: *Gloria et honor Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto in saecula saeculorum, amen.* And there is that hymn which the angels sang at Christ's birth in the flesh: *Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*; the ecclesiastical doctors composed the remaining [words] which follow on. Therefore, must those [hymns] not be sung in churches because they are not found in the books of holy scriptures? Masses and mass-set prayers and prayers and commendations and laying on of hands are composed from elements which, if none are sung in church, then all ecclesiastical services cease.'

From these words it is clear that many things are newly composed in the church which must not be excluded if they are not inconsistent with the faith of truth.

Further, metrical and rhythmical hymns are sung in the Ambrosian liturgy which some people were accustomed to adopt occasionally in the Mass because of the grace of remorse which is increased by the beautiful sweetness. For indeed tradition has it that Paulinus, the patriarch of Friuli, used hymns composed both by himself and others quite frequently and particularly in private Masses at about the time of the offering of the sacraments. I would in fact have believed that so great a man and one of such great knowledge would not have done this either without authority or without the weight of reason.

In the offices, also, which blessed Abbot Benedict outstanding in all holiness established, hymns are sung throughout the Liturgy of the Hours, [hymns] which he himself in calling [them] Ambrosian, wished to be

understood either as those which Ambrose composed, or which others composed in imitation of Ambrosian hymns. Nevertheless, it must be understood that many hymns are thought to be composed by Ambrose which have by no means been produced by that man. For it seems incredible that he composed some [hymns] such as are found in substantial numbers, that is, [those] which, having no sequence of thought, show a rusticity in their vocabulary which is not customary in Ambrose.

In fact it must be said of the hymn which is inserted in the entire liturgy for the honour of the holy and unified Trinity, that it was ordained by the holy Fathers in one way or another. For the Spanish wished it to be said exactly in the manner we mentioned above: however, the Greeks are known to say: *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto et nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum, amen*; whereas the Latin-speaking people sing this hymn in the same order and with the same words, only adding in the middle: *sicut erat in principio*; <p.507> also because of these clauses certain less knowledgeable Greeks have tried to attack the Latin-speaking people with false accusations just before our time.

Nevertheless, we know that we are not mistaken in this, in believing in the co-eternity of the glory of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and equally, knowing that the Romans, the most steadfast preservers of the faith in other compositions, would not otherwise accept this sense of this hymn unless they knew it to be free from every error.

For indeed many people affirm that that hymn was made known by the holy sanction of the Nicene council, so that, incorporated in the entire liturgy and all prayers, it might both teach the belief in the co-eternal Trinity, and in individual petitions the same confession might better obtain the favour of divine Attention. And so some join this hymn to almost all the psalms and sometimes to the divisions of the psalms, but to fewer responsories as do those who follow the statutes of Father Benedict in the Liturgy of the Hours. The Romans repeat it quite rarely in psalms, but quite frequently in responsories.

Indeed, the ancient Fathers are found to have prescribed in their collected writings that the verse, which is accustomed to be said at the beginning of all Offices which are performed at the Liturgy of the Hours (except the Mass), that is, *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, etc. must be put first not only in the entire liturgy but in all works, so that the invocation of divine aid adopted at the beginning of any activity at all might facilitate both steadfastness in requesting and power in obtaining. However, in Requiem Masses and in connection with the ceremony of the Lord's Passion let the beginnings and endings of those liturgies not be used, of course, as they are in the others for the sake, that is, of expressing sadness, not because of any more weighty doctrine.

In fact, because there is so great a diversity in the liturgy itself, not only in terms of the variety of races and languages but also within one race and language because of change over the years or the zealous instruction of teachers, hence, if I wished to reveal everything which we read now about this profusion, I would seem more onerous than productive to those who will listen to me. I shall pass over [matters] which are endless, affirming only this, that the complete arrangement of the liturgy, which is now observed throughout the Roman world, was established after antiquity had unrolled over a long period, and was dispersed to every prominent centre of holy religion. For when the number of the faithful grew and the pestilence of heresies stained the catholic peace in a greater variety of ways, it was necessary that the liturgy of true observance be enlarged, so that both a clearer religion might attract souls of those who approached the faith and an augmented liturgy of truth might show the constancy of the catholics against their enemies.

Finally, the practice of rehearsing from memory both plain-chant and psalmody was so extremely rare among men of old that in the case of practically the most recent bishops of the Romans, and those who preceded our times not even by two hundred years, it is recorded as a remarkable

and singular feature if any of them seemed more outstanding than the others in the aforementioned matters. For Hormisdas, fifty-fourth in order, 'arranged the clergy and taught them psalms', Leo, the eighty-second, and Benedict, the next after him, and also Sergius, the eighty-sixth, are said to have been distinguished in psalmody and in the knowledge of chant. About Gregory III, however, it is recorded as if something unheard of and new that he knew all the psalms by heart; by which it is meant to be understood that few of the men of old learned the psalter in this way.

For they were accustomed to insert in their liturgies psalms as well as other passages of Scripture, sometimes from memory and sometimes <p.508> by reading; but if one observes carefully, it is apparent in many citations of the Scriptures.

However, blessed Gregory is believed to have distributed the arrangement of singing plain-chant in the daily and nocturnal hours [sc. the Liturgy of the Hours] in a complete system [sc. the Antiphonary], just as we also said above about the book of the sacraments, although many men before and after him composed prayers, antiphons and responsories. For we even mentioned above about the beginning of antiphons; and it is recorded that responsories were first invented by the Italians, since both Ambrose, clearly, and others were rejoicing in the novel proliferation of divine praises.

And because the Gallican church, provided with no less skilled men, had many liturgical documents, some things are said to have been mixed from them with the Roman liturgy, and which most people acknowledge they can discern from other chants by both words and melody. But when the prerogative of the Roman see was observed, and persuaded by the reasoned consistency of the arrangements made in it, it came about that in almost all the churches of the Latin-speaking world the custom and authority of that see prevailed, because there was no other tradition which ought

equally to be followed either in the rules of faith or in the teaching of observances.

There is also that praiseworthy order of the Liturgy of the Hours which blessed Father Benedict established to be observed by monks, namely so that those who are set apart from others by their calling, might also strive to pay back by their task of continual service something more than the others. Therefore we think that the [monastic] arrangement should not be forbidden by bishops of churches, both because it is similar to the Roman authority, and because blessed Gregory, describing the life of the renowned Father Benedict, praising the rule written by the same [Benedict] in which the same order of the liturgy is used, seems to approve his [sc. Benedict's] statutes by his own authority.

Nevertheless, there are those who, I do not know by what audacity, do not want to use that system, wishing to excuse their indolence or impudence by that permission which that most holy of men seems to give through the greatness of his humility. [The rule states that] if his distribution which he has made should displease anyone, [that person] may ordain [another] if he has judged another way better -- as if they could find anything better and more suitable to their own order than that person [sc. Benedict] who is said to have been filled with the inspiration of all the saints!

However, although the Romans still have the psalms according to the 70 Interpreters [sc. the Septuagint], the Gauls and some of the Germans chant the psalter according to the version which the priest Jerome composed from the edition of the 70 [Interpreters], which Gregory, bishop of Tours, is said to have borrowed from Roman areas and brought to the churches of Gaul.

In fact, Pope Stephen, when he came into Francia to Pippin, the father of Emperor Charles the Great, for the sake of seeking the justice [sc. territorial rights] of Saint Peter [sc. Rome] from the Lombards,

brought the more perfect knowledge of plain-chant, which almost all Francia now loves, through his [sc. Stephen's] clergy to the same Pippin who sought it, and from that time onward its use became valid far and wide.

27. Some things must be said about baptism, also, which was clearly prefigured in the crossing of the Red Sea or of the Jordan, but it is recognised to have been less obviously foreshadowed in many other examples. John was the first at the beginning of the new grace to show this to those converted to the faith of Christ; <p.509> that this was foreseen, not by his own invention, but by divine constitution, just as he himself testifies saying: 'He who sent me to baptise with water', etc. He did not baptise, however, for remission of sins, which is customarily done by the baptism of Christ, but for penance, saying so that they might believe about Him
 / who was about to come, that is, Jesus, about whom he also bore witness: 'I indeed baptise you in water unto penance; but He that shall come after me is mightier than I am, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear. He shall baptise you in the Holy Spirit and fire.' And clearly it was fitting that, in the new salvation of humankind through the coming of the Son of God in the flesh, a new sacrament of purification should be revealed, so that, just as the priests of the Levitical race were accustomed to be washed before the offering of fleshly sacrifices, so likewise, all inheritors of the Christian name, who are called 'a holy priesthood', cleansed by a spiritual ablution from the stain of sins, should offer to God 'spiritual sacrifices for a sweet savour'.

It should be understood, however, that at first believers were simply baptized in rivers and fountains; for our Lord Himself, Jesus Christ, was baptized in the Jordan by John so that He might consecrate the same ablution for us, and as one reads elsewhere, 'John was baptizing in Ennon near Salim: because there was much water there'. And Philip the evangelist baptized the eunuch whom he met on the road in a fountain.

However, as we have shown above, as the esteem of religion increased with the passage of time, the ornament of ecclesiastical institutions increased continuously to completeness, so also the celebration of this mystical ablution gradually grew greater through the additions of the years.

Some [authorities] added the anointing of the chrism, which no one doubts to have been taken from an old custom, since in the earliest times of grace, baptism was customarily confirmed by the laying on of hands, because we read that Peter and John did [that] in Samaria. This assertion pertained to the first bishops of the church then, and there is no doubt that it pertains [to bishops] now: this is why quite frequently in the canons it is forbidden to priests to administer the chrism or sign those being baptized on the forehead which should be done only by bishops. The decrees of Pope Innocent testify to this and [so do] the statutes of Sylvester; the latter also decreed 'that the priest should anoint the baptized with the chrism on account of the chance of the transition of death.' But if the person who has been baptized by a deacon or any other person at all dies accidentally before confirmation [by a bishop], one must not believe that he is to perish because of this, 'because subject to the faith by which he believed, he will be able to be saved,' if the sins committed afterwards do not destroy him; these things were decreed by the law of the council of Elvira.

Some added exorcisms to the sacrament of baptism, others the consecration of the fountain, others the infusion of salt and saliva, others the formal instruction of the catechumens; others most carefully prescribed scrutinies for so great a sacrament of preparation; but there are also many other things established which were devised from examples of divine acts or words and are recognised to be filled with the most appropriate meanings of spiritual progress, as the numerous documents of our ancestors show with respect to these matters.

Valid baptism itself, however, is celebrated only in the name of the supreme Trinity, <p.510> which both the Lord Himself indicates and the Canons of the Apostles teach; this is why whoever has been baptized either by heretics baptizing in [the name of] the Trinity or by anyone else at all by the lawful designation of that holy Trinity, should not be rebaptized, lest the invocation of the supreme Divinity seem to be annulled, but that which was incomplete ought to be completed by anointing and laying on of the hand. This is frequently included in the canons and decrees of the Fathers.

We read, too, in book I of the *Ecclesiastical History* that, [when] Athanasius was still a boy, he played a game imitating baptism with boys of the same age; but also that Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria, when he discovered by the interrogation of the baptist [sc. Athanasius] and the answer of those baptized and so on, the [deeds] which had been done although in a game, nevertheless in accordance with our religion, he judged that they must not be rebaptized, but confirmed by the customary sacraments of the church.

By the Council of Elvira also it is permitted to the faithful having full baptism to baptize in necessity. Victor, also, the fifteenth bishop of the Romans, established 'that if necessity demands, wheresoever it should have taken place, whether in a river or in the sea or in fountains, if the confession of Christian belief is made clear, anyone coming from paganism should be baptized'. Nevertheless, in this and similar instances, indiscriminate permission for baptizing is not granted to anyone at all, since in the council of Carthage women are not allowed to baptize. But it is shown through these examples that, where an unavoidable necessity demands [it], it is better to be baptized in the name of the Trinity anywhere at all and by anyone at all, than that one who is endangered should perish without a remedy. This is also why the lawful times for baptizing need not be observed in such necessities, but,

in accordance with the decrees of Leo, one must always help those in danger from illness, persecution, siege and shipwreck; and it is ordered by the council of Gerona that an infant of one day, if it should be at risk [of dying], be baptized.

We have learned, however, from the council of Carthage and the decrees of Leo that those about whom there is uncertainty, that is, those who cannot prove by any evidence that they have been baptized, ought to be baptized; but the decrees of the same Pope Leo establish that those who know for a certainty that they were baptized but do not know by which profession of faith, ought to be received by the laying on of the hand.

The lawful times for baptism, however, are fixed at Easter and Pentecost according to the decrees of Bishops Siricius, Leo and Gelasius, although at the council of Gerona the Nativity of our Lord and Easter are appointed. Some also wish to baptize on the Epiphany of the Lord, because tradition has it that our Lord was baptized at that time, but this very thing is forbidden by others. In fact, because according to the apostle 'we are baptized into the death of the Saviour', and the Lord Himself points out that those who are going to enter into the kingdom of heaven ought to be born again from water and spirit, only these two times were suitably fixed by the bishops of the Romans for the celebration of baptism, that is, Easter and Pentecost, on one of which the Passion and resurrection of the Lord, and on the other, the coming of the Holy Spirit is celebrated

<p.511> Some want a triple immersion in imitation of the three days in the sepulchre, as the statute is included in the Canons of the Apostles and the custom of the Romans observes: others assert one [immersion] because of the oneness of the Divinity, as it is included most fully in the council of Toledo, where it is also recorded that blessed Gregory so replied to Leander inquiring about this among other [matters]: 'because diverse custom of the Church within one faith causes

no harm. We, however, because we immerse three times, signify the sacraments of the three day burial, so that when a child is brought up three times from the waters, the resurrection after three days' time is represented. But if by chance anyone also thinks that [this] is done for the venerating of the highest Trinity, neither on account of this does anything hinder the baptizand from being immersed once in the waters, since, while there is one being in three substances, it can in no way be reprehensible to immerse an infant in baptism three times or once, since both the Trinity of Persons can be designated in three immersions and the Unity of the Divinity in one.' Although at that time a single immersion thus pleased the Spanish who said that a triple immersion ought to be avoided for this reason, because some heretics propounding the dogma [of] unlike substances in the Trinity used it for negating the consubstantial quality of the Holy Trinity, nevertheless, the older [sc. Roman] use and the argument mentioned above prevailed.

For if we abandon everything which the heretics incorporated into their own perversion, there will be nothing left for us, since being deluded in God Himself, they have applied everything which seemed to belong to His liturgy to their own errors, as if it were their own.

It should be noted, however, that many were baptized not only by immersion, but also by pouring water over from above, and still can be so baptized if it should be necessary, just as we read in the passion of blessed Laurence that a certain person was baptized by a pitcher that someone had brought. This also usually happens whenever the largeness of rather well-grown bodies does not allow a man to be immersed in smaller basins.

Next it must be observed that in the earliest times the customary grace of baptism was given only to those who had already arrived to this degree in the integrity of both body and mind, so that they could know and understand what labour must follow upon baptism, what must be con-

fessed and believed; in short, what must be observed by those reborn in Christ. For the venerable father Augustine reports concerning himself in the books of his Confessions that he remained a catechumen until he was almost thirty years of age, clearly with this intention so that through this delay of time, instructed on individual matters [of doctrine], he might be led by free will in choosing of anything at all, and as the passions of a hazardous age cooled, he might better observe what must be followed.

But as the carefulness of divine religion increased, Christian devotés of doctrine, understanding the original sin of Adam, hold punishable not only those who enlarged the lie by their works, but also those who, without their own offences, because according to the psalmist 'they were conceived and born in iniquities', cannot be immune from sin while they proceed from a polluted root, so that the apostle justly says about all men: 'For all have sinned and do need the glory of God. <p.512> Being justified freely by his grace ...', and about Adam: 'In whom all have sinned.'

Therefore, they, the followers of a sound faith, perceiving this, have prescribed that [infants] are baptized for the remission of sins, lest they perish if they die without the remedy of regenerating grace; not, as certain heretics who contended, in opposition to the grace of God, that by no necessity are infants baptized because they have not yet sinned: but if it were true, either they should not have been baptized, or if they were baptized unnecessarily, in their case the sacrament of baptism, which we confess in the creed to be given for the remission of sins, was imperfect and invalid. Therefore, infants are necessarily baptized because all whom grace does not free perish in original sin, even those who have not added increments [consisting] of their own wickedness; [a view] which Saint Augustine also expressed in [his] book on the baptism of infants, and African councils, and the greatest possible number of documents of other Fathers testify to this.

From this reason, therefore, it came about that godfathers and godmothers are employed to receive infants from the font and answer for them everything which they themselves cannot acknowledge because of the tenderness of their age. And in the same way the spiritual father or mother should introduce to him whom he or she received from the font of rebirth, when he has reached an age of understanding, the avowal of belief which he made for him. In this way he, who by another's avowal of belief (just as the paralytic by the faith of those carrying [him]) was entitled to be released from the disease of his sins, would be eager to live not unworthily for the salvation answered for [by a godparent]; and he would fulfil by his own performance what was avowed by the mouth of those [godparents], if he did not wish to be cut off from the salvation which he deserved by their faith.

However, neither the father nor mother should receive their own offspring from the font, so that there may be a distinction between the spiritual and carnal birth: but if it should happen accidentally, those who received the spiritual bond of co-parenthood for their common child, shall not thereafter have the mutual participation of the carnal bond.

And so not only those who are old enough to speak and understand what is happening, but also those who do not yet speak in their own person on their own behalf must be baptized: just as the synod of Carthage also prescribed that the sick must be baptized who cannot now speak, 'when their family have declared the testimony of their own will', or they themselves could assent by some gestures.

In fact, it is prohibited in the council of the place mentioned above that baptisms or the Eucharist be given for the dead. However, in the earliest times of the proclamation of the Gospel some people are reported to have been of such ardour in their heavenly faith that they were eager to be baptized for certain very dear ones who had died before the proclamation of truth or the comprehension of baptism. The apostle

Paul relates this to add to faith in the resurrection, because unless it was believed that they were about to be resurrected, it was foolish to labour on behalf of those who no longer existed.

28. That tithes must be given to God and to the priests of God, Abraham makes known by deeds and Jacob by promises; next the law prescribes [this], and all the holy doctors recount [this]. And it was certainly fitting that the Israelites gave tithes of herds and of the produce of the fields and of all the money to the Lord, who, that He might free them, smote the Egyptians with ten plagues, and in the last plague destroyed the first born of all the Egyptians and bestowed grace to His own [people] so that they might strip Egypt of the money that had been extorted.

In reference to these tithes Augustine, the extraordinary doctor, says: <p.513> 'Tithes are required from a debt. As if God were to say: To be sure, you are mine, o man! Mine the earth which you till. Mine are the seeds which you scatter. Mine the animals which you exhaust. Mine is the heat of the sun. And since all things are mine, you, who undertake less, were entitled to only a tenth. But I reserve nine tenths for you, and give one tenth to me. If you will not give one tenth to me, I will take away the nine-tenths. If you will give me the tenth part, I will increase the nine tenths.'

And so, because the Jewish people kept the command of tithing with such great carefulness that they gave tithes from each of the smallest herbs, from rue, that is, mint and cumin, as the Lord Himself testifies, why should the evangelized people, for whom both the number of priests is greater and the liturgy of the sacraments more pure, not fulfil the same command with even greater zeal?

Therefore, for that reason [tithes] must be given so that God, pleased by this devotion, might bestow more liberally the things which

are necessary, as we showed above, and so that priests and attendants of the church, relieved from the care and anxiety of bodily necessities without which this life cannot be led, may become freer for the meditation of the divine law and for the administration of doctrine and for the voluntary satisfying of spiritual servitude, and so that the gift of the people might be offered to the Lord in a daily offering and also, according to canonical statutes, might contribute to the sustenance of the poor and rebuilding of churches. For according to the canons four parts ought to be made from the offerings of the faithful, so that one should be for the bishop, another for clergy, the third for the poor, and the fourth should be reserved for the rebuilding of churches.

29. Litanies, that is, public prayers of entreaty which we call the Major [Litanies], the Romans usually are accustomed to perform annually on one specified day, that is, on the seventh day before the kalends of May [sc. April 25]. Pope Gregory instituted these litanies at the beginning of his papacy when after an unusual flood, a disease affecting the abdomen, after it first killed Pope Pelagius, then devastated the Roman people. He [sc. Pope Gregory] then arranged a seven-part litany -- as Paul [sc. the Deacon] records in *The History of the Lombards* -- in such a way as to separate those who were going to entreat the Lord into seven groups, whereby they might call on the mercy of the Lord in more various ways: 'In the first group were the clergy, in the second all the abbots with their monks, in the third all the abbesses with their congregations, in the fourth all the children, in the fifth all the laity, in the sixth all the widows, in the seventh all the married women.'

However, litanies lasting three days, which are celebrated annually throughout all the churches of the Gauls and of Germany on the days immediately preceding the Ascension of the Lord, were established in Gaul. For in the time of Clovis, king of the Franks, who with his nation

was the first to be made a Christian, while the city of Vienne was being destroyed by repeated earthquakes and desolated by an attack of beasts, we read that Saint Mamertus, bishop of the same city, ordered them for those evils which we have just mentioned. The synod of Orléans both orders them to take place at that time and orders that all take a holiday from servile work so that they [sc. the litanies] might be celebrated more fully.

The Spanish, however, because of this which was written 'The children <p.514> of the bridegroom cannot mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them', refusing to fast during the Quinquagesima of Easter [sc. the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost] placed their litanies after Pentecost, making them the fifth, sixth and seventh ferias of that week. Some of them prescribed three days of fasting from the Ides of December [sc. December 13], others from the Kalends of November [sc. November 1].

It must be noted, however, that not only are that recitation of names by which saints are summoned to the assistance of human infirmity called litanies [sc. public prayers of entreaty], but all things which are done in supplication are also called prayers of entreaty.

However, litanies of saints' names are believed to have been taken into use after Jerome, following Eusebius of Caesarea, wrote his martyrology throughout the calendar of the year. Jerome was asked on this occasion by bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus to compose that work because in the council of the bishops the pious emperor Theodosius praised Gregory, bishop of Cordoba, 'because celebrating Mass on each day for those martyrs, he commemorated very many names of the martyrs whose feasts they were.'

30. Pope Alexander established that 'water should be blessed with salt for sprinkling' and should be sprinkled on the dwellings of the faithful. For just as the former people observing the legal institutions

were purified by blood, so the new Christian people, reborn by the sacrament of baptism, are worthily sprinkled with blessed water. In the same way, just as the blood of the lamb was put on the door-posts to ward off the destroyer, so the sacrament of water protects the bodies and places of those reborn.

31. However, Pope Zosimus established that a wax candle be blessed not only in the principal churches but also in parishes; it is shown in the council of Toledo that some Spaniards observed that [blessing] and some neglected [it].

32. At the end of these trifles it seems proper to insert a certain comparison of secular and ecclesiastical ranks, although I am not ignorant that the arrangements of powers and offices have been complicated by such great diversity because of the variety of races, places and times, that scarcely anything certain can be set out concerning them. How many individuals are there who acknowledge that they know the authority that has been distributed and arranged in administrations and offices? By these I do not mean those of the races of Assyrians, the Medes [sc. Persians], and Macedonians, but only of the Romans because it is better known and closer to us. For over the long period of time some powers would have been changed into others, some added, others removed, so that by the instability of things it is proved that it is a human and transitory thing, which with a certain inconstancy is both enhanced into a greater thing and diminished into a lesser one.

Therefore, after the doubtful items have been omitted, let us examine in turn the things which are better known in order that we may show that the arrangements of worldly wisdom have been changed into the spiritual government of the universal church with sacred distinctions in the manner of the ancient history where are reported that both the money

of the Egyptians contributed to the service of the tabernacle, <p.515> and cedars felled in Lebanon contributed to the building of the temple, and also Rahab, Ruth and Achior were transferred to the number of God's people.

Just as emperors of the Romans are said to have held the absolute rule of the entire world, so the head bishop in the Roman see bearing the succession of blessed Peter is elevated to the highest position of the whole church; in reference to this, it is prescribed at the council of Sardica that laws of all men ought to be referred to him and what he himself has prescribed must be kept. But just as he [sc. the emperor] was, not only in the eyes of the Romans but sometimes also among the races of other parts, the head ruler of the secular world so also were other churches united to the authority of the Roman see, that is, Antioch in Asia and Alexandria in Africa. For in the Nicene council it is shown that the prerogative of these three churches must be preferred to all the rest. But the greatness of the three places can be ascribed to one authority, because in two of these Peter himself sat, and none the less, he had made the third, that is Alexandria, his own see through Mark, his own son, and the Gospel which Mark himself wrote in his [sc. Peter's] own words.

Similarly it must be understood about rulers of the secular world that, although they have shone out during their own times in different parts of the world, nevertheless almost all of them were referred ultimately to the law of the Romans, as if to one summit. Therefore, the Roman pope may be compared to emperors and Caesars, while chief bishops to patricians who seem to have been first after Caesars in the empires, and so the latter [sc. chief bishops], who are moderately few, are held first after the bishops of the three [above mentioned] sees .

Next let us compare [those] archbishops, who are superior to metropolitans, to kings; however, we might compare metropolitans to dukes because, just as dukes are in individual provinces, so also those

[metropolitans] are placed individually in individual provinces; this is why it is ordered in the council of Chalcedon: 'One province should not be divided between two metropolitans'.

What counts or prefects [perform] in the secular world, this the remaining bishops perform in the church. For they say that in Eastern parts there are bishops exercising authority over particular cities and particular prefectures.

Just as tribunes rule over soldiers, so abbots are recognised to rule over monks, spiritual athletes.

Just as there are in palaces *praetores* or counts of the palace who set in motion secular cases, so also are there those prelates, whom the Franks call the head chaplains, who have been presented for the clerical cases. As there are minor chaplains, so are there these whom we call by ^(the lord's vassals) the Gallic custom *vassi dominici*. However, they were originally called chaplains from the *cappa* (cloak) of blessed Martin; the kings of the Franks were accustomed to have it with them in battles because of [its] assistance in victory; carrying and caring for it with the other relics of saints, clerics began to be called chaplains.

Furthermore, just as certain counts appoint over the cases for the people their own agents who decide the lesser cases but reserve the greater affairs for themselves [sc. the counts], so certain bishops have assistant bishops, who perform in matters suitable for them what they are charged with.

Centenarii, who are also centurions or deputies, who are appointed over the districts, can be compared with 'parish priests' who hold baptismal churches and are in charge of minor priests. Decurions or *decani*, who oversee some minor matters under those deputies, <p.516> can be compared to minor priests of title churches.

Under the assistants of those *centenarii* are yet lesser [men] who can be called *collectarii*, *quaterniones* or *duumviri* because they summon

the people and show by their very number that they are less than *decani*. However, the words themselves have been borrowed from an ancient custom, in which the offices of the prelates are named according to the number of their subjects, as are *chiliarchi* [*chilion* = 1000] in Greek, or *millenarii* in Latin, *centenarii* or centurions, *pentacontarchi* or *quingagenarii*, *decani* or decurions, *quaterniones*, *duumviri*. In the likeness of these, that is of lesser [offices], are deacons and subdeacons, assistants of priests with the word, baptism and the daily office.

There are also archpriests who have the care of canons in cathedral churches. Secular magnates, too, have advisors for [their] households and tutors for their own children, [and] the same people have overseers for their affairs; likewise the administration of dependent persons rests with archdeacons in certain churches.

In worldly affairs there are *questionarii*, that is those who examine criminals, there are in a church exorcists, those who drive out devils; courts of powerful men have *ianitores* (doorkeepers), and the house of God has *ostiarii* (doorkeepers); the world has *veredarii* (couriers), *commentarienses* (secretaries), *ludorum exhibitores* (presenters of games), *carminum pompatici relatores* (splendid relators of songs), the church has acolytes, readers, cantors and psalmists.

But the one house of God is constructed in accordance with the union and love of each order, the one body of Christ is brought about with all the members of His own offices, conferring fruits for mutual benefit. The eye is in the wise men who both see and make known the true light, the mouth in the doctors, ears in devoted disciples, the nose in lovers of discernment, the hands in workers, feet in those helping, the belly in those suffering, shoulders in those who endure hard works, and the remaining parts in the rest, 'so that there might be no schism in the body, but if one member glory, all members rejoice with it'; if one is saddened, they all suffer greatly. Therefore, that harmony must be

held constantly, 'until we all meet unto a perfect man so that God may be all in all'.

Released at length from the heavy weight, and would that it were as beneficial as [it is] large, in the end of the conclusion I implore future readers that they should not attribute to rash presumption what I have undergone by the vow of obedience. For I confess that I have not found everything which I wished to explain, nor set out everything which I did find, since on the one hand the magnitude of the themes kindled the desire for knowledge, and on the other the mingling of the diverse topics might cause too much aversion. Nevertheless, careful investigation of my reader in these writings will hold, even if not the wealth of sufficiency by which he might be pleased, some kind of reason for inquiry by which he might be better occupied.

It is finished.

COMMENTARY

LIST OF CHAPTER TITLES

Although Krause has presented the prefatory material of *De exordiis* in the following order: the verse preface, the list of chapter headings and then the prose preface, for the purpose of clarity and ease of commenting it is preferable to discuss the index of titles first, and then to consider both prefaces.

The very presence of this list of chapter titles, which will be shown to be part of Walahfrid's original scheme, points to new scholastic activity in the Carolingian period. Before Charlemagne's educational reforms, monks slowly and carefully studied and meditated upon the few books available to them. By the first half of the 9th c. an educational system was developing in monastic and cathedral schools, and the number of books in their libraries had increased enormously. Some books were beginning to be used as source material for specific information much as we do today.

Although Walahfrid was not an innovator, few of his predecessors included a table of contents with their works. In *Adamnan's Life of Columba* there is an incomplete contents-list for the first book largely derived from its chapter-headings which had apparently been composed as integral parts of the work. Adamnan did not make a contents-list for books 2 and 3 (A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson [1961], 6). Other early examples are as follows: Agobard of Lyons (c.769-840) states in his preface to *De dispensatione ecclesiasticarum rerum: Quae cuncta nunc replicare nimis prolixum est, quia et tunc distinctis capitulis comprehensa sunt, et omnibus nota esse debent* (CCCM 52, 122); Rhabanus Maurus (776 or 785 - 856) writes in the epilogue of *Poenitentium Liber*:

Haec tibi, sancte Pater, pauca capitula ex sanctorum patrum conciliis colligere curavi (PL 112, col.1398); Smaragdus, in his *Liber in partibus Donati*, includes a table of contents before each section of grammar (CCCM 68, xxxv).

Walahfrid explicitly mentions chapter headings in three prologues:

(1) Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*: *Huic opusculo ego Strabus titulos et incisiones prout visum est congruum, inserui, ut ad singula facilius quaerenti quod placuerit elucescat accessus* (ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH *SS rer. Germ.*, XXIX). Walahfrid's divisions of Einhard's *Vita* into chapters with chapter headings deliberately transformed Einhard so as to give Charlemagne a more Christian perspective. These include references to Charlemagne's diligence and magnanimity, his works for the ornamenting of the kingdom and the church, and five chapters dealing with provisions for the church and the poor in Charlemagne's will. I am indebted for this insight to D. Ganz in an unpublished lecture, 'Notker'.

(2) Thegan's *Vita Hludowici Imp.*: *Huic opusculo ego Strabo quasdam incisiones et capitula inserui, quia sanctae memoriae Ludewici imperatoris gesta et laudes saepius audire cupio vel proferre, ut facilius volentibus scire singula pateant titulorum compendio* (MGH *SS II*, 589).

(3) His own *Vita s. Galli*: *Vitam igitur sancti confessoris Christi Galli... vultis a me lumine rectae locutionis ornari et seriem confusam capitulorum distingui limitius* (MGH *SS rer. Merov. IV*, 281).

In the prefatory verse to his summary of Rhabanus's Commentary on the Pentateuch he concludes: *Hunc librum exposuit Hrabanus iure sophista Strabus et imposuit frivolus hos titulos* (MGH *Poetae II*, 417).

Although there is no mention in either the verse or prose preface to *De exordiis* of any such specific *titula*, *incisiones*, or *capitula*, a table of contents would of course have been crucial for its use as a reference book and a teaching text.

In printed editions of patristic and Carolingian texts, tables of contents and/or chapter divisions are frequently editorial additions, based not on early manuscript evidence but on a later preference for organization. Not until the 12th c. did an author commonly incorporate a table of contents into his work (R. Rouse and M. Rouse [1982], 206). In his edition of Alcuin's *De ratione animae* J. Curry states that its division into chapters was at his discretion since the manuscripts gave no help in determining how Alcuin wished the treatise to be laid out (Curry [1966], 36).

The manuscript evidence for Carolingian chapter divisions and lists has not been a subject of detailed study. My preliminary findings suggest that although not common, books with chapter divisions were used as reference material. Two MSS with lists of chapters written contemporaneously with *De exordiis* are BL Harley 3024, Theodulf's presentation copy of his own work on the Holy Spirit (an early librarian gave the work the wholly erroneous title *Liber Anastasii contra arrianos hereticos*), and Bodleian Library Canonici Misc. 353, Rhabanus Maurus's computus text. It is less certain whether it was Alcuin's original intention to include the table of contents accompanying *De trinitate* (PL 101, cols.13-58), although the chapter divisions were in his original scheme.

Another instance of this Carolingian preoccupation with organization is the 4th-c. Verona MS 26 of Augustine's *City of God* where the summaries of the chapters in books 11-16 are attributed to the beginning of the 9th c. (H. Marrou [1976], 257).

VERSE PREFACE

For an assessment of verse prefaces in Carolingian rhetorical style see the Introduction, 24. A detailed look at Walahfrid's use of standard topoi in this preface underlines the thoroughness with which rhetoric was

taught in the early 9th c. These six lines of elegiac couplets also demonstrate Walahfrid's considerable virtuosity in handling a difficult and technical metre.

HOC OPUS EXIGUUM: Walahfrid is using an affected modesty topos; see E. Curtius's detailed analysis (Curtius [1948], 83).

WALAHFRIDUS: The position of Walahfrid's name in the first line of the poem, and before Reginbert's name, probably indicates Walahfrid's position of superiority over Reginbert in spite of his use of the rhetorical topoi of humility and affected modesty. This is certainly the case in 'The Baptism of the Danes' where Ermoldus arranges his description of the royal procession so that although Emperor Louis the Pious is not at its head, he is named first (E. Faral [1932], 176.2290). G. Simon argues that the change of the normal order of address at the head of a letter from the classical to the medieval period reflects Christian humility (Simon [1959/60], 140-142). Since Walahfrid had been abbot at Reichenau 838-840 (see the Introduction, 12), he would probably continue to stress his superiority in exile (see the Introduction, 13).

PAUPER HEBESQUE: These two words should be understood as parallel in meaning, another affected modesty topos. The root meaning of pauper is 'unproductive' and can apply to intelligence as well as money (L&S). Krause has implausibly given it a financial meaning and used it to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the work before 842. Walahfrid's reference to the late Louis the Pious in chapter 4 dates its composition after 840. The editor maintains that if Walahfrid were poor when writing *De exordiis*, it would signify that he had not yet returned to his abbacy in 842. The *terminus ante quem* is correct, but on evidence not known to Krause, namely Reginbert's library list; see also the Introduction, 29-30.

PATRUM ... SEQUENS: Although the majority of topoi are concerned with the content of the work, this one determines the form it will take;

cp. T. Janson [1964], 155. This is an allusion to the early Christian fathers as his literary predecessors. For Walahfrid's use of *patres* for 'early writers' see commentary c.4:477.36-37.

NON SPONTE SUA: an example of 'the author's dilemma' (Janson [1964], 120). Topoi were used to place the responsibility of writing a work upon the dedicatee.

MAGNOS ... AUSUS: This phrase refers to the superiority of the writer. Note its inconsistency with *hoc opus exiguum*.

DURA ... EUM: This is an early medieval reinforcement of the request theme. Classical authors generally used a straightforward word such as *rogare* for request. For a detailed discussion and examples see T. Janson (1964), 116 ff.

SI QUID ... MIHI: Christian writers added topoi to express Christian humility; see E. Curtius ([1948], 407-413.

LECTOR: See commentary c.1:476.9.

PROSE PREFACE

This preface makes it clear that Walahfrid has thoroughly investigated the patristic texts at his disposal. However, because this is a liturgical commentary, his use of those sources will not be the subject of a detailed examination.

Prose prefaces allowed the author more flexibility of form and content than those in verse. They must still remain within the framework of the rhetorical tradition: someone requested the writer to produce the work; against his wishes the writer complied with the request and dedicated the work to the petitioner. Walahfrid includes many of the same topoi in both prefaces. It is worth noting, however, that he did not use several of the poetic metaphors and 'affected modesty' and 'humility' topoi that are discussed by both T. Janson ([1969]), 145ff.) and E. Curtius ([1948]), 83 and 407ff). Already an established poet, Walahfrid

seems not to have felt the need for elaborate poetic embellishment in *De exordiis*.

475.9 SACRAMENTORUM: A frequent classical meaning was the 'military oath of allegiance', but the early Fathers used it to translate the Greek 'mystery': 1 Tim 3.16; Apc 1.20; Walahfrid is using the term *sacramentum* here and in cc.9 and 28 in the wide sense of St. Augustine who defined it as the 'visible form of invisible grace' or 'a sign of a sacred thing' (Ep. 138). This wide application was maintained into the Middle Ages. The 'Seven Sacraments' as we know them today, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders and Matrimony were not formally affirmed until the Councils of Florence (1439) and Trent (1545-63) (ODCC s.v. SACRAMENT, 1218).

Walahfrid also uses *sacramentum* to specify a particular formula, most commonly that which designates the receiving of the bread and wine at the Eucharist (cc.16, 18-21, 23, 25-26). But he uses it in other ways as well: in c.26 he seems to specify the bread and wine, but its connection with *immolatio* is problematic (com.26:506.27); in c.9 it denotes the dedicating of temples and altars; in cc.27 and 30 he specifies *baptismi sacramentum*; in c.27:511.8 he quotes from Gregory: *triduanæ sepulturae sacramenta*, another difficult usage.

Walahfrid generally uses *sacramentum* and *mysterium* as synonyms for the sacrament of the Eucharist: see commentary c.3.477.9. For the development of the use of the two terms see CAP I, 253-9.

475.10 OFFICIORUM: In the majority of cases I have translated *officium* as 'liturgy' (see Introduction, 5). In this passage *ministerium* designates 'liturgy' as a general term, and 'services' is more appropriate for *officium*.

475.10 OBSERVATIONUM: This is one of several terms used throughout *De exordiis* which are today more correctly termed 'liturgical

actions' (e.g. *solemnitas* 5:478.37; *ritus* 15:489.30). The word 'action' was familiar to the early Church and carries with it the essential notion of participation, without which the liturgy does not exist. To maintain Walahfrid's variety of vocabulary, however, I have in general kept to his specific terms, such as 'observance' here.

475.10 **MULTI MULTA DIXERUNT:** Walahfrid alludes to earlier writers; cp. commentary on verse preface: *patrum ... sequens* (p. 138).

475.11 **PER ... SANCTI:** This is an uncommon, specifically Christian 'assistance' topos; see T. Janson (1964), 141ff.

475.12 **QUALITER DEBEANT FIERI:** Walahfrid is probably referring here to the books which gave instructions for the performance of liturgical rites. Benedict of Nursia's 6th-c. *Regula Monachorum* devotes eleven chapters to the organization and contents of the Liturgy of the Hours, the regular periods of monastic prayer and praise observed throughout the day and night. The *Ordines Romani* gave necessary details on how to carry out these rites and those pertaining to other liturgical actions. As the name implies, their origin is Roman, but they were copied and adapted predominantly in 8th-c. Gaul when Roman liturgical ceremonies began to be imported to provide guidance for liturgical practice: see Abbreviations and Bibliography of Sources for editions.

475.12 **MYSTICE:** The early Fathers used *mystice* to mean allegorically, mystically and symbolically (Blaise s.v.). It is the keyword in the clause *quomodo ... intellegi*.

475.12-13 **QUOMODO ... INTELLEGI:** The allusion here is to allegorical interpretations of liturgical form and ritual. The most original and enthusiastic Carolingian exponent was Amalarius in his *Liber officialis*; see the Introduction, 21.

475.13 **DILIGENTI EXAMINATIONE DISCUSSA:** This topos alludes to his own superior intellectual capabilities.

475.14 LIBRIS: This is a reference to Reginbert's library in Reichenau; in 842 Reginbert lists forty-two books along with their contents (MBDS I, 258-62).

475.14-16 SECUNDUM ... ARDENS: The superiority of and praise of the dedicatee is an 'affected modesty topos'; see E. Curtius (1948), 83.

475.19-20 QUOD ... CONSOLETUR: This is another 'affected modesty' topos.

475.22 IN QUANTUM . . . FACULTATEM: Curtius discusses at length the Christian 'affected modesty' topos ([1948], 407-413).

475.22 EX AUTHENTICORUM DICTIS: In classical times the Roman usage of *authenticum* was 'the original writing'. Carolingian writers gave it an additional meaning: Walahfrid is using it in the sense of *authenticus*, a teacher of great knowledge, a very learned man. Amalarius used *authenticus* in the same way in his letter to Peter, abbot of Nonantola (Modena) (OLO I, 229).

475.22-25 SCRIBAM ... INDICABO: This summary of the work which is to follow clearly indicates the approach which has given rise to its modern designation as the first history of the liturgy (G. Cattin [1984], 20 and K. Langosch [1953], 750).

475.25-26 SI NON ... MERCEDEM: Obedience is a quality much desired in a monk: cp. commentary verse preface: *non sua sponte* (p. 138) and final paragraph of *De exordiis*: 516.27 *oboedientiae*. See also Walahfrid's prologue and chapter titles to his *Vita s. Galli* (MGH SS rer. Merov IV, 280.21, 281.1, 281.8), and the prologue to *Visio Wettini*: *maior erat oboedientia quam facultas* (H. Knittel [1986], 40); cp. Benedict's prologue to his *Regula monachorum*: ... *obedientiae fortissima atque praeclara arma sumis*.

CHAPTER 1

This summary history of early sacred buildings begins appropriately with the development of the altar, the most venerable part of the church.

Walahfrid's account is unique in two ways. Firstly his historical emphasis finds no parallel in either Isidore or Bede, both of whom also discussed altars, tabernacles and temples. In Isidore's brief general account of Jewish temples and altars, his emphasis is linguistic rather than historic (*Etym.*, XV.iv). Bede presents an allegorical dissertation on Moses's tabernacle and Solomon's temple and their furnishings (*De tabernaculo* and *De templo*). But secondly, note also Walahfrid's brief references to the books of the pagans as sources for his statements, sources which neither Isidore nor Bede mention.

475.28 ALTARIA: *Altaria* signifies a pre-Christian open-air structure of the Jews on which were made burnt offerings to the Lord (J. Jungmann [1960], 119). This is in contrast to *altaria* (475.35), a structure placed within the tabernacle and temple at a later period in history on which were still burned offerings, but which by then had prescribed furnishings (Ex 27.1-8 and III Rg 7.48-50; see the Introduction, 36-7 for the designation III-IV Rg. Walahfrid does not distinguish, as Bede does, between *altaria*, Christian altars, and the heathen *arae*; see Plummer's note to Bk.1, chap.30 of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (Plummer [1898], 60).

475.31 REPROMISSIO: Surprisingly, this familiar phrase occurs in the NT only once: Hbr 11.9 (NCBS); see also Bede's story of Caedmon (HE IV.xxiiii).

475.35 ARCA TESTAMENTI: Many early Christian writers discussed the symbolism of the *arca testamenti*: see ODCC, s.v. ARK (2), 87 and TLL *arca* ... III *arca apud Scriptores Ecclesiasticos dicitur* ... 13) *arca testamenti* and 14) symbolism of. Of the numerous OT references only two use *arca testamenti*: Nm 14.44; Jer 3.16; see also the Apocrypha (4 Esr 10.22); in the NT see Hbr 9.4 and Apc 11.19.

475.38 FIGURIS: The adaptation of Latin to serve ecclesiastical needs characterized the vocabulary of early patristic texts. In classi-

cal Latin *figura* meant form or shape; by the 3rd c. it had come to mean allegory, e.g. Tertullian's *De baptismo*, 4 *ad baptismi figuram* (TLL). Although it seems certain that texts of Tertullian were not available to Walahfrid, he could indeed be referring to Bede's allegorical use of *figura* in *De tabernaculo* (e.g. Lib.I, 611 p.20; Lib.III, 21 p.92) and *De templo* (e.g. Lib.II, 987 p.217; Lib.II, 1458 p.229); see also commentary c.15:489.27.

476.1-8 PAGANOS ... DICIMUS: See 476.3-9 for *divinae scripturae testimonia*.

476.2 and 8 LIBRIS: The Elder Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* xxxiv and xxxvi describes temples and their gods. Walahfrid could have read Pliny's descriptions in Bamberg MS, Class. 42 (M.V.10) which contains books xxxii-xxxvii, and was written in the palace scriptorium of Louis the Pious in the first third of the 9th c. (B. Bischoff [1976], 3-22; rpt. MAS III (1981), 182). Another source could have been C. Iulius Solinus, probably of the 3rd c., Pliny's most noted epitomist; see prologue of Walahfrid's *Vita s. Galli: Solinus quoque in Polyhistore ... in verbis designat ...* (MGH SS rer. Mer. IV, 281).

476.9 LECTORIS: Walahfrid makes only three other references to *lector*, designating the teachers who would read this text: verse preface, c.6:479.10 and *Finis*, in contrast to *studiosis* in c.6:481.6. *Audituris*, c.26:507.23, also refers to *lectores*, those for whom Walahfrid is writing. Note also *docere* in c.9:484.17 and c.14:488.19. All these terms indicate the didactic purpose of *De exordiis*.

CHAPTER 2

A more accurate title for this chapter would be 'How different religions resembled each other, what they had in common and why they differed'. Although Walahfrid continues his historical account of the Christian religion along a time line, particularly the OT origins of

buildings for worship, he also offers a psychological interpretation of the warfare between God and demons for the souls of frail humanity. Each faction uses the other's rituals, but Walahfrid emphasizes the Old Testament God's forbearance and morality. Although Gregory the Great had in a similar way brought a psychological approach to the interpretation of God's will (Letter to Mellitus, CCSL 140 A, 961), Walahfrid has assimilated his sources and written an original exegesis. He ends the chapter on a pessimistic note, as the warfare's balance tips to the side of the demons.

476.10 DAEMONUM: In its classical meaning *daemon* signified a spirit, or in astrology the last but one of the twelve celestial signs. Early Christian writers gave it a pejorative meaning, referring only to an evil spirit (Lv 17.7).

476.13 INCORRUPTIBILIS ... CREATORI: Excerpts from Rm 1.23,25; a good example of Walahfrid's skill in incorporating a Biblical text into his argument.

476.11 and 36 CULTUM: The classical meaning of *cultus* embraced the worship, or its acts or forms, of a deity as well as the observation or fulfilment of religious obligations (L&S). Blaise cites early Christian use of *cultus* to signify Christian observances: Lact. Inst. 4,3,10; Greg. M. Ep. 9,6. See also a December 814 letter of Helisachar, arch-chancellor of Louis the Pious, to the archbishop of Narbonne where the meaning of *divinis cultibus* is 'liturgical actions' (MGH *Epp.* V, 307-9). Walahfrid uses *cultus* with both pagan and various Christian meanings throughout *De exordiis*.

476.20-21 AEDIUM ... SACRIFICIORUM: This could be a reference to Gregory the Great's letter of July 18, 601 to Mellitus expressing his concern for 7th-c. Christian adaptation of pagan sacrifices and temples (CCSL 140 A, 961). Collections of Gregory's letters were available in both Reichenau and St. Gallen (MBDS I, 72,246).

476.21-25 ET FACTUM ... SENTIMUS: Here is one of the few instances of allegorical exegesis in *De exordiis*; see cc.1, 15, 17, 19 and 23; see also the Introduction, 21-2.

476.24 AC SOLLEMNITATIBUS: This is an unusual and awkward word order for a Latinist of Walahfrid's stature. He has broken the symmetry of his sentence. One would expect to read: *dum et in illis materialibus structuris aedificium ecclesiae spiritale et in carnalibus victimis passionem Christi et in sollemnitatibus documenta virtutum sentimus*.

476.31 QUOD ... FECERIS: See RB c.61.

476.32-34 HOC TAMEN ... OBSERVANT: This passage is cited by M. Manitius who equally can find no source (Manitius [1911], 305²).

476.34 UT AUTEM ... REVERTAMUR: The single use of this topos in *De exordiis* re-emphasizes the subject matter of the chapter while conveying a sense of spontaneity of style.

476.40-477.1 NAM ET ... COLLOCATA: Cp. Josephus, *The Jewish War*, II.169-174, and *Jewish Antiquities*, XVII.151; Orosius, *History Against the Pagans*, VII ([1846], 1071). All three texts were included in the 821-822 Reichenau library list (see Table of Sources, 52a⁷⁴ and MBDS I, 247, 248).

477.1-2 ET JULIUNAS ... EST: Orosius, *Ibid.*, 1142.

CHAPTER 3

Chapter three continues the straightforward historical account of the spiritual development of the Christian religion and the construction of places for worship. The pessimism of chapter two is counterbalanced by the growth of Christianity seen in new buildings for worship and the adaptation of pagan buildings and rituals for Christian use. Walahfrid is a gifted epitomist, condensing the first several decades of Christianity into one succinct paragraph. Unexpectedly, Walahfrid makes three Biblical errors: see 477.10, 11, 15.

477.9 MYSTERIA: For the most part Walahfrid uses *mysterium* as a synonym for *sacramentum*, see commentary prose preface 475.9. For exceptions see cc.8:482.17; 23:497.22; 24:503.26; 30:514.17.

477.10 EVANGELISTAM: See Luke 24.53. But in none of the Gospels is there an account of the disciples with believers in an upper room (*caenaculum*) praising God, praying and fasting; for the only use of *caenaculum* in this context see Act 1.13.

477.11 IEIUNIO: Nor is there any mention in the NT of the disciples and their followers fasting before the coming of the Holy Spirit (NCBV).

477.12 ORATIONES ET FRACTIONEM PANIS CELEBRASSE: Walahfrid's first reference to the Eucharist. He uses a variety of expressions to signify the Eucharist throughout *De exordiis*, e.g. c.16:489.39 *corporis et sanguinis sui sacramenta*; c.19:491.30 *sanguinis dominici mysterium*.

477.15 IPSE ... LITORE: A paraphrase of Act 21.5: *et positus genibus in litore oravimus*, but the context of verse 5 makes it certain that Paul prayed not with the Ephesians, but with the disciples at Tyre. There is no other occurrence of *litus* in the NT which could cause confusion (NCBV). This error is unexpected in a scholar of Walahfrid's stature. There is no indication in Krause's apparatus that it was noted by copyists, nor have I found any current reference to the error.

477.16 IN GESTIS SANCTORUM: The numerous *gesta* and *vitae* of saints available in the mid-9th c. make it impossible to pinpoint a particular source of the broad statements that follow.

477.18 CYMITERIIS: See also *De exordiis* c.6. This term for early Christian burial areas is surprisingly rare in early medieval texts: see DLF, GLL and MLLM. But see Theodulf of Orléans *Capitula I*, viiii and Rhabanus Maurus *Carm.* 42: *Tituli ecclesiarum Fuldensium* (MGH *Poetae* II, 209). For the early medieval history of the word with full references see D. Bullough (1983a), esp. 187²⁴.

477.21-22 *TEMPLA ... ECCLESIAS*: See commentary c.2:476.20-21.

477.22 *CULTIBUS*: Pagan rituals. See commentary c.2:476.11.

CHAPTER 4

Walahfrid draws on a wealth of earlier writers: *veteres, maiores, priores* and *patres*, not one of whom had developed the subject in the same comprehensive fashion. His use of a large number of sources is a reminder of the enormous growth of library resources since the flourishing of intellectual activity at the Aachen palace in the 790s. He demonstrates a marked ability to synthesize a wide range of classical and patristic texts and to present a coherent and unique history of the predominantly eastern orientation of ecclesiastical architecture. For a recent summary of the history of eastern orientation for prayer and Frankish influence on the practice in the *Ordines romani* see CAP I, 184 with full references.

477.26-27 *SAPIENS ... DEUM*: A possible source for a *sapiens* concerned with facing east during prayer is Isidore's *Etym.* XV.iv.7.

477.26-30 *QUAMQUAM ... EX ALTO*: Cp. Amalarius: *Sacerdos quando dicit 'Gloria in excelsis Deo', orientes partes solet respicere, in quibus ita solemus Dominum requirere quasi ibi propri eius sedes sit, cum potius eum sciamus ubique esse* (*Off.* III.viii.2 [OLO II.286-287]).

477.27-30 *REVERA ... ALTO*: Praying towards the east was also the concern of Germanus of Constantinople (d.733) in his commentary on the liturgy, but his Biblical citations differ and his emphasis is on the earthly ministry of Jesus (ed. P. Meyendorff [1984], 63).

477.31 *TEMPLI ... FUIT*: There is no Biblical account of an entrance on the east side of the temple (III Rg 6), although in Ex 27.13-15 the gateway to the tabernacle *respicit ad orientem*. However, in *De templo* Bede describes eastern entrances in both buildings and particu-

larly stresses the importance of the eastern orientation of the temple (CCSL 129 A, 161); cp. Isidore, *Etym.* XV.iv.7 and Josephus, *Antiquitates* III.iii, VIII.iii.2. Copies of all three works were either in Reichenau or St. Gallen.

477.31-32 UBI ... FIEBANT: Scriptural descriptions do not give sufficient details for Walahfrid to have used them as his sources. In *De templo* Bede refers to two drawings of Cassiodorus, one of the tabernacle and one of the temple (CCSL 129 A, 81, 192). Only the drawing of the tabernacle survives in the 8th-c. Codex Amiatinus (Meyvaert [1979], 71). Much of the detailed description could have been based on the drawings, but there is little likelihood that Walahfrid ever had access to them. Continental scholars hold the view that Bede's *De templo* is the source for this passage, but Josephus looms large. His descriptions of tabernacle and temple with altar and labrum on the east side suggest this passage (ed. W. Whiston [1981], 72-3, 176). Josephus's descriptions could have been the source for Cassiodorus's drawings, since it was at Vivarium that Josephus was translated into Latin (Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, ed. R. Mynors [1937], 55 and Josephus, *The Antiquities*, ed. F. Blatt [1958], 17). It was at Vivarium that Cassiodorus had ordered images of both tabernacle and temple to be inserted in his greater Latin pandect (P. Meyvaert [1979], 70).

477.31 LABRUM: Vienna cod. 914 has *labrum* corrected to *candelabrum*; had the scribe seen the drawing of the tabernacle, since there the altar and candelabrum were placed in proximity to each other near the eastern entrance of the inner building?

477.36-37 APUD ... DICEBANTUR: Among the *veteres* there is considerable variety in the vocabulary for the four points of the compass: cp. Cassiodorus's drawing of the temple (Meyvaert [1979]), Isidore, *Etym.* XV.iv.7 and Bede, *De templo* (CCSL 129 A, 165-6]) and *Hexaemeron* (PL 91, col.78C). See remarks on 'wind-rose' in Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*, c.29⁶ (ed. E. Firchow [1972], 137).

477.36 VETERES: Note the occurrence of *veteres*, *maiores*, *priores* and *patres* (preferred use) throughout *De exordiis* to denote earlier writers. There are no specific guidelines for their translation. Are they early Fathers? Classical pagan authors? One must look to the context in which they are used. It is not clear where Walahfrid would draw the line for designating an 'early' Father. Following the *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* I shall consider Bede the last of the *veteres*.

477.37-39 MERIDIANAE ... DEXTRAE: Walahfrid appears to be confusing *meridianus* and *medium*.

477.39-478.6 QUIA ... ACCEDEBANT: Walahfrid seems to follow Bede's passage in *De templo* which recounts the rising of the sun at the equinox, shining its rays into the ark of the testament (CCSL 129 A, 161). This is also the view taken by B. Reudenbach of Hamburg University in response to my written query (Nov., 1986) about Walahfrid's source for his description of Solomon's temple. Bede refers to Josephus as being his source, but Josephus omits much of Bede's detail (ed. W. Whiston [1981], 174). Isidore also has a description of the rising of the equinoctial sun in the context of the temple, but with a different purpose (*Etym.* XV.iv.7). None of the accounts combine Walahfrid's wealth of detail and dramatic impact. Since all three books were available to Walahfrid, it seems most likely that this is a demonstration of his particular gift of synthesis which results in original and vivid history.

478.3-4 QUIBUSDAM RATIONABILIBUS CAUSIS: See Josephus's *Antiquities*, XV.xi.5 (ed. W. Whiston [1981], 336) and *The Jewish War*, V.193, 227 (ed. G. Cornfeld [1982], 354, 360).

478.6 PRECIBUS ET VOTIS ET SALUTATIONIBUS: Walahfrid commonly uses *oratio* to denote 'prayer'. This unusual combination of words, rarely used elsewhere in *De exordiis*, increases the dramatic effect of his narrative. *Salutatio* occurs uniquely here, *vota* 3 times in c.10, *preces* in cc.8, 23 and 26. For *preces* see commentary c.8:483.26-28 (p. 173).

478.11 ALIIS EXEMPLIS: Vulgate references: I Sm 8.44,48; Tb 3.11; Ps 5.7; 28.2; 55.17; 138.2.

478.18 BONIFACIO PAPA: Pope Boniface IV (608-615).

478.18 FOCATE IMPERATORE: Emperor Phocas (602-610).

478.18 A BEATO BONIFACIO PAPA: Throughout *De exordiis* Walahfrid uses both *beatus* and *venerabilis* to denote saintly figures of the past, although *beatus* is the preferred term (28 occurrences as opposed to 3 of *venerabilis*); in c.23 he uses both terms to designate Augustine. A. Freeman argues that in the late 8th c. *beatus* was becoming the term which referred to revered persons now dead and *venerabilis* to a reigning pope or contemporary figure (A. Freeman [1988], 163). Although Walahfrid does not follow this usage exactly, it may be significant that he addresses Reginbert as *venerande in Christo* (prose preface 475.15).

478.15-20 VERISSIMA ... DISTRIBUTA: Since there is no evidence that Walahfrid had travelled to Rome or Constantinople, he is unexpectedly specific in his description of the three churches and their several altars. He appears to have heard or read first-hand accounts. *Verissima relatione* could refer to a dinner table conversation as abbot with a visiting traveller who would give eye-witness answers to Walahfrid's questions about the Pantheon and St. Peter's in Rome (RB c.56). Despite Manitius (Manitius [1911], 305), the account of the Pantheon in the *Liber Pontificalis* makes no mention of *altaria* (LP I, 317). Early medieval guide books, perhaps consisting of only a *sceda* or two, and few of which are extant, contain detailed descriptions of the interiors of ecclesiastical buildings (B. Bischoff [1961b], rpt. in MAS II (1967), 236-240). One can imagine Walahfrid reading them with characteristic enthusiasm.

But certainly the most likely source for his information about Constantine's church in Jerusalem is catalogued in the a.842 Reichenau library list: *In XXX. libello habentur libri tres, quos Arculphus epis-*

copus Adamnano excipiente de locis sanctis ultramarinis designavit conscribendos et quartus liber de eadem notatione est adiunctus, quis autem fecerit ignoramus, quem mihi, Walahfrid, frater noster, me supplicante donavit (MBDS I, 261).

Adamnan's account of the church reads: *Hanc rotundam et summam ecclesiam supra memorata habentem altaria, unum ad meridiem respiciens, alterum ad aquilonem, tertium ad occasum versus* (*De locis sanctis* I.ii.4, ed. L. Bieler [1965], 187).

478.20-21 HAEC ... AUDEMUS: a topos of bowing to previous authority.

478.22-24 SED ... CONSTITUI: the conclusion of the argument for facing east for prayer. His meticulous marshalling of facts supports a carefully wrought argument based on seven instances of facing east, three of facing west and three of facing more than one direction.

478.24-30 UNISQUISQUE ... RELIQUA: Walahfrid comes full circle, and makes copious use of scripture to reiterate his first point, that God is everywhere (477.25-26 and restated 478.11-14). For a similar construction see St. Paul's argument in Rom 4.

478.26 ALIOQUIN: This is the only use of this word in the text.

478.28 SUBAUDIS: Walahfrid rarely addresses the reader in the second person singular: see also c.12:487.2 *invenies*; c.14:488.13 *obicias* and c.23:500.22 *velis*, 23 *optulisti* and *offeras*.

478.30 CONSPECTU: It is an odd but unexplained fact that Walahfrid's use of *conspectu* here and in c.10:485.13 is a variant from the Gallican version; note also that he omits *conspectu* from the standard Vulgate in this chapter, 477.34, and again in c.14:488.7-8.

CHAPTER 5

Walahfrid's brief history of the use of bells in the Liturgy appears to be unique. With the exception of monastic rules (see LARMO

II, under *signum*, 1125-6), there is little written evidence for this use of *signum* prior to the 9th c. when it had become the common term for the bell rung to announce the hours for prayer. Rhabanus appears not to mention bells. Amalarius sees them primarily in the light of allegorical exposition (*Off.* III.i [OLO III.257-258]). Even today there is little written about the subject: for the most recent brief account see CAP I, 214. J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Cymbala: Bells in the Middle Ages* (1951) should be used with caution; it should be noted that he has made no reference to this chapter of *De exordiis*.

Although Walahfrid's account is partially based on legendary material, it also provides important evidence for the use of bronze and silver bells in his *ecclesia*, probably Reichenau. Archeological evidence for bronze and silver bells is scanty before the 9th c. This is discussed by H. Leclercq in *vol. III.ii (1914) DACL*, cols 1954-77, and by C. Bourke (1983), 464-68. The extraordinary skill apparent in the bronze doors and grilles in the Aachen palace could well have been the creative force behind the making of bronze bells for churches and monasteries with court connections, e.g. Reichenau and, of course, the Aachen chapel.

478.31-33 DE VASIS ... OFFICIA: Cp. Germanus of Constantinople's 8th-c. commentary on the Greek liturgy. He refers not to bells but to the *simandron*, long wooden hanging objects which are struck with a mallet to call the faithful to prayer (ed. P. Meyendorff [1984], 57). They are still used in many Greek monasteries.

478.31 VASIS: The general meaning of *vas* (*vas, vasis; vasa, -orum n.*) is a hollow vessel. In *De exordiis* it occurs three times (here, and in chapters 25:503.28, 27:511.23) with three different meanings. Cp. Isidore *Etym.* XX.iv-x; Amalarius *Off.* III.i (OLO II.259-60); Smaragdus, *Liber in partibus Donati*, 20.

478.31 FUSILIBUS: of molten metal, cast. For Biblical usage see II Par 4.2; III Rg 7.16; see also Isidore *Etym.* XVI.xx.8: (*De aere*) Duc-

tile autem dicitur eo quod malleo producat, sicut contra fusile qui tantum funditur.

478.31 PRODUCTILIBUS: Of beaten work, of highly wrought metal; cp. Ex 25. 18.

478.32-33 SIGNIFICANTUR ... OFFICIA: *Signum* originally meant a mark, token, sign, indication. By the early 6th c. it was being used to mean the bell announcing an hour of prayer; cp. Gregory of Tours, *Historica Francorum* (ed. B. Krusch [1951], 68.5, 116.1, 292.15); see also LARMO II, s.v. and RB cc.20, 22, 38, 43, 48. By the 9th c. *signum* was commonly used for the bell rung to announce the Liturgy of the Hours; see Amalarius *Off.* III.i (OLO II.257-258); the c.817 *Epistola Grimalti et Tatti* (MGH *Epp.* V, 305-307). The ringing of bells to summon the faithful had become an essential part of 9th-c. liturgy in secular as well as in monastic services; see D. Bullough and A. Harting-Corrêa (1990) 490 and [n.] 4.

478.37-38 TABULIS, CORNIBUS: Walahfrid gives more information of technical interest. As there were two methods of bell construction, so there were two types of material from which tablets were made. Amalarius specifies *tabulae* as being made of bone (*Off.* III.xvi.2 [OLO II.304]). *Cornus* is 'animal' horn.

478.38-479,3 VASORUM ... COMMENTATA: Walahfrid is the earliest written source for this legendary account; see NCE and ODCC s.v. BELLS, 153. However, see Isidore's account: *Campanum quoque inter genera aeris vocatur a Campania scilicet provincia quae est in Italiae partibus, utensilibus [et] vasis omnibus probatissimum* (*Etym.* XVI.xx.9). Note also the early use in south Germany of *clocca* in Adamnan's 7th-c. *Vita Columbae* (I. Strasser [1982], 402-403) and the occurrence of *clocca* in Alcuin's Ep. 226 (MGH *Epp.* IV, 370). Walahfrid's omission of *clocca* suggests that Isidore was his source.

479.1 CAMPANAE: Cp. Isidore, *Etym.* XVI.xxv.6: *DE PONDERIBUS ... campana a regione Italiae nomen accepit, ubi primum eius usus repertus est.*

479.1-3 NOLA: This is the earliest evidence for the use of *nola* for a small bell. For later use see Ducange s.v.

479.2 TINTINNABULA: *Tintinnabulum* is used infrequently in early medieval texts: cp. Isidore, *Etym.* III.xxii.13; the 8th-c. *Expositio antiquae liturgiae gallicanae* II.14: the bell rung at the Eucharist is referred to as *tintinnabulum*; see also Florus's account of the 838 Council at Quierzy (MGH *Conc.* II, 779)

479.6 AERE: Cp. Isidore, *Etym.* XVI.xix; Amalarius, *Off.* III.i (OLO II.258); Aedilwulf, *De abbatibus* II.453-4.

479.6 ARGENTO PURA: But note that a bell of pure silver will be robbed of its elasticity and therefore its resonance; cp. Isidore *Etym.* XVI.xx.

479.6-7 NEC ... FORMIDINE: I have been unable to find the source for this passage.

CHAPTER 6

In the past this chapter has generally been regarded as an etymological account of standard (Latin) words for sacred buildings and their more well-known parts, which does no more than follow Isidore's *Differentiae* and *Etymologiae*. Summaries of *De exordiis* have sometimes noted a broader range of interests in this chapter (M. Manitius [1911], 305 and K. Langosch [1953], 750), but have not applied any detailed examination. I hope to show that it incorporates at least three distinct groups of words. The third group is of particular interest: it apparently draws on an unidentified glossary, and the etymologies are Walahfrid's own or taken from so far unidentified sources.

Despite Isidore's *Etymologiae* being the source or starting point for the definition of the majority of words considered, the organization

of the chapter is Walahfrid's own. He analyses first various names for church buildings and then their components. This thoughtful arrangement and two statements in particular are important evidence for the didactic purpose of *De exordiis*: 479.9-11 *ut lector, dum causas aedificiorum et exordia didicerit, cur etiam ita vel ita dicta sint, possit advertere* and the last sentence 481.5-6 *Ad cetera, quae restant, per haec signa ingressuum faciliior studiosis patebit introitus*; see Introduction, 18-9 and 45 for amplification of this view. Consistent with his historical perspective Walahfrid puts only four words in a theological context: 479.12-25 *ecclesia ... conveniunt*, 480.3-9 *basilica ... doctrina*, 480.15-17 *cymiterium ... dubitantur*, 480.19-23 *martyria ... exemplis*.

The Plan of St. Gall: a study of a Carolingian monastery (eds. W. Horn and E. Born [1979]) presents contemporary application of many of these architectural terms, although ^{study} ~~he~~ should be used with caution. Note the erroneous reference to Walahfrid in vol.1, 53-56, following K. Preisendanz (1927), 7-31. Zurich Zentralbibl. Cod. Rhenaugensis LXXIII is not Walahfrid's copy of Adamnan's *De locis sanctis*; see B. Bischoff (1950); rpt. in MAS II (1967), 49.

There is no concordance of Walahfrid's works, but as far as possible use of these words elsewhere in *De exordiis* and in his other writings will be marked.

As Krause has already noted, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, lib.XV, is the source for Walahfrid's etymology of the following words (my Group I), and which for the most part need no comment: 479.30 *tabernaculum*, 33 *aedes et aedificia*, 480.9 *absida*, 12 *aram*, 13 *antara*, 14 *altare*, 14 *porticus*, 23 *sacrarium*, 25 *pulpitum*, 30 *Ianuae*, 34 *ostia*, 32 *valvae*, 32 *fores*, 33 *portae*; for *domus* see comment on 479.25.

The etymologies of a second group of words, (my Group II), stem from Isidore's *Etymologiae* and *Differentiae*, but Walahfrid has followed a common Carolingian practice of expanding the meaning further either in

an original way or from other sources. These are 479.12 *ecclesia*, 28 *templum*, 37 *tabernae*, 480.3 *basilica*, 19 *martyria*, 34 *Ianua*, 34 *ostia*, 35 *valvae*, 35-6 *fores*, 36 *porta*, 36 *camera*, 37 *cementicio opera*, 481.1 *lacunaria* and *laquearia*; they are considered as a group after the comment on 480.23.

The etymologies of the following words, my Group III, are not taken from Isidore: 479.36 *caenacula*; 480.10 *exedra*, 15 *cymiterium*, 17 *criptae*, 24 *analogium*, 26 *ambo*, 27 *cancelli*, 28 *cancri*. They are likewise discussed as a group below.

479.10 LECTOR: See commentary c.1:476.9.

479.18 SICUT ... DOCEO: The reference should be I Cor 14.33, not Krause's I Cor 4.17. Walahfrid does not follow the Vulgate: *sicut ubique in omni ecclesia doceo*. Note that Walahfrid's next quotation, '*Mulieres in ecclesia taceant*' (479.19), is the following verse, I Cor 14.34.

479.23 DOMUS SPIRITALES: The Vulgate text reads *domus spiritalis* (I Pt 2.5) with the variation *domus spiritaes* AR

A = *Amiatinus*, Firenze, Bebl. Mediceo-Laurenz., Amiatini I, s.viii in. in Northumbria.

R = Verona, Bibl. Capitolare X (8), s.vii-viii Veronae.

479.25 DOMUS: Cp. *Etym.* XV.iii.1. Is Walahfrid's wording here influenced by some other source, e.g. a glossary? Cp. the comments on Group III.

480.7-8 QUI MOTIBUS CORPORIS IMPERANT: This intriguing image has no parallel in 9th-c. writings.

480.19-23 MARTYRIA ... EXEMPLIS: This is the first occurrence in *De exordiis* of Walahfrid's many references to canon law. For Walahfrid's unique interest in the rulings of ecclesiastical councils in a historical context see above in the Introduction, 39. For the ruling see the Council of Carthage V, c.15 *De basilicis quae sine martyrum reliquiis dedicatae sunt* (CCH III, 378).

480.22 APPELLATIONE: Walahfrid uses *appellatio* in two senses in *De exordiis*. Cp. the use here and (similarly) in 7:481.16 with that in 27:510.2.

480.22 MARTINUS: *Vita Martini* (d.397) by Sulpicius Severus (c.360-c.420), 11.1-5, (ed. J. Fontaine [1967-9], I, 276).

480.23 GERMANUS PARISIENSIS: presumably the supposed author of 'Expositio antiquae liturgiae Gallicanae' although it is not in the text of the unique surviving MS.
WORDS IN GROUP II

479.12 ECCLESIA: This is a particularly good example of standard Carolingian practice. The etymological definition of a word was based on Isidore, (as here *ecclesia: Ecclesia Graecum est, quod in Latinum vertitur convocatio, propter quod omnes ad se vocet* [Etym. VIII.i]), but each author developed the exposition in his own fashion: e.g., Amalarius *Off.* III.ii.1 (OLO II.261); Rhabanus Maurus *De cler. instit.* lib.I (PL 107, col.297A). See also C. Mohrmann (1962), 36 (rpt. in her *Études sur le latin des Chrétiens* IV, 211-230, esp. 216-220 and 229).

479.37 TABERNAE: *Etym.* XV.ii.43. Although it is doubtful that the explanation of the (?supposedly) contemporary meaning of *tabernae* is Walahfrid's own, there appears to be no extant source from which it is taken.

480.3 BASILICA: Isidore's etymology is both showy and elaborate (*Etym.* XV.iv.11), and was probably an inspiration to Walahfrid's own additions; see also Amalarius *Off.* III.ii.1 (OLO II.261). Note Walahfrid's slightly different etymology in 7:481.28: *Sicut itaque domus Dei basilica, id est regia, a rege.*

480.3 BASILEO: For etymology see Amalarius *Off.* III.ii.1 (OLO II.261); MLWB s.v. For development of the use of the word 'king' in East and West see LMA s.v.

480.33-36 SUNT ... ATRIORUM: This is the only passage taken directly from Isidore's *Differentiae* I, no.308 (PL 83, col.42 B). For Walahfrid's practical application of this quite specific analysis of the

words for entrances and doors, see c.4 where he follows this set of definitions in an account of the temple.

480.34 IANUAE: Cp. 14:488.21.

480.34 OSTIA: Cp. 4:477.38, 478.1.2; 10:485.14.

480.36 PORTAE: Cp. 3:477.14; 4:477.39, 478.4; 26:505.25.27. Note Walahfrid's addition of *atriorum* to Isidore's definition of *porta*.

480.36 ATRIORUM: Although the meanings of *atrium* are varied (see MLWB s.v.), Walahfrid here means only buildings or areas adjacent to buildings into which *ianuae* opened: cp. above 480.5 and 4:477.39, 478.3.

480.36 CAMERA: *Etym.* XV.viii.5: *camerae sunt volumina introrsum respicientia, appellatae a curvo; κάμπος enim Graece curvum est* (Lindsay [1911]).

480.37 CEMENTICIO: Unusual and unique attention to detail signifies an unknown source or perhaps evidence of Walahfrid's exceptionally wide-ranging knowledge demonstrated by the vocabulary of *De exordiis*, e.g. c.5:478.31 *fusilibus* and *productilibus*, 36-37 *tabulis* and *cornibus*; c.8:484.7 *lituris*. See also his *Vita Otmar*, c.16: *In eadem basilica iuxta aram beati Iohannis Baptistae arca quaedam parieti contigua non magnis lapidibus opere caementicio in quatuor lateribus constructa, superius autem tabulis, quarum grossitudo trium vel quatuor erat digitorum, in transversum positis coementoque desuper litis, cooperta visebatur.* (MGH SS II, 46).

481.1 LACUNARIA ET LAQUEARIA PENDENTIA: unique reference to 'hanging' or 'suspended' ornamented ceilings and to their being made in bronze; cp. e.g. *Etym.* XV.viii.6 and XIX.xii; Rhabanus *De univ.* XIV (PL 111, col.402D).

WORDS IN GROUP III

It is remarkable that all the words in this group begin with the letters a, c or e, and that in several cases the word 'explained' by a gloss-equivalent, with or without an etymology, is of Greek origin, as

cancros:cubitus (see also *camyron:curvum* although this could be found in *Etym.* XV.viii.5). Since there is no known single literary source for this group of words, although they were common in patristic texts, the possibility that Walahfrid was here drawing on the opening section of an alphabetized glossary which itself combined Latin-Latin and Latin-Greek examples is surely worth considering. Several of the etymologies may, therefore, be Walahfrid's own, although there can be no conclusive proof of this.

479.36 CAENACULA: Classical use was 'an upper story'; Jerome's Vulgate uses *caenacula* to mean both an upper story (e.g. Act 1.13, 9, 37.39) and a dining room (Luc 22.12, Mc 14.15). Paul the Deacon ex Festus: *cenacula dicuntur, ad quae scalis ascenditur* (ed. W. M. Lindsay [1930], 159; for Festus see below, *cancri*). Rhabanus Maurus follows Isidore for its etymology: *Coenaculum dictum a communione vescendi ...* (*Etym.* XV.iii.7); he also defines it as the room where Pentecost took place (*De univ.* XX: 'De habitaculis', PL 111, col.390C). But cp. Amalarius who takes it to mean the dining room where the Last Supper was held, following Mc 14.13-16 (*Off.* III.xxi.12 [OLO II.327]); for additional references see MLWB s.v. For other occurrences in *De exordiis*, all meaning an upper room or story, see 3:477.10, 4:478.10, 26:505.9.

480.10 EXEDRA: From the Greek; in use from the 7th to the 14th c.: see also Amalarius, *Off.* III.xxvi.2 (OLO II.344), meaning a niche or side chapel. It is worthy of note that insular sources have used both *exedra* and *porticus* to mean a sort of side chapel: for *porticus* see Bede *HE* II.20 and Aedilwulf, *De abbatibus*, ll.436-7, 714-5, 758-9. Adamnan uses *exedra* twice in this sense: *De locis sanctis* I.7 and *Vita Columbae* III.19. For further discussion of the use of *exedra* and *porticus* as synonyms, see P. Meyvaert (1989), 1122 and D. Parsons (1987), 24-27. Niermeyer cites Walahfrid, but with an erroneous meaning (MLLM s.v.); *exedra* is used, however, to mean a raised choir in a church - see Blaise s.v.; SOL, 475 and fig.4.

480.15 CYMITERIUM: See also 3:477.18.

480.17-19 CRIPTAE ... CORPORUM: For other occurrences of *cripta* see 3:477.18 and Walahfrid, *Vita s. Galli*, II.xxiv, xxxi, xxxv (MGH *SS rer. Merov.* IV, 328-329, 331, 333).

480.24 ANALOGIUM: Walahfrid presents a unique etymology (see MLWB s.v.), but cp. *Etym.* XV.iv.17.

480.26 AMBO: This is an early-medieval coining, first recorded in the Carolingian period (fullest collection of references in MLWB) and supposedly from the Greek (but cp. Walahfrid's own plausible etymology), as an alternative for the Classical Latin *pulpitum* in the sense of 'a raised platform from which the Scriptures could be read to the people and other public liturgical activities be conducted'. Walahfrid's etymology, however, seems to imply a structure with a curved screen or balustrade which encircled the person using it: of the general type, therefore, of the early 11th-c. *ambo* in the former palace-chapel at Aachen (H. Schnitzler [1957], pl.109 and Kat. nr.36); see also SOL 475 and fig.3. For an instance of *pulpitum* see 23:500.7.

480.27 CANCELLI: Walahfrid here provides a unique etymology (see MLWB s.v.), either his own or taken from an unidentified alphabetized gloss (see above, introduction to this chapter). His definition implies the altar rail, unusually high by today's standards; it is consistent with the account of a miracle in his *Vita S. Galli* where glass lamps are knocked to the floor of a church, roll against the *cancelli* but do not break (Lib. II c.35). For early use of *cancelli* at communion see *The Mass of the Roman Rite* (J. Jungmann [1955], 375¹⁰) and SOL, 475 and fig.2.

480.28 CANCRI: The only other evidence for a word *cancer* 'column, pier' is

i. the 2nd c. Festus's *De verborum significatu* in the late 8th-c. abridgement of Paul the Deacon, written for and sent to Charlemagne: *Can-*

cri dicebantur ab antiquis qui nunc per deminutionem cancelli (ed. W. M. Lindsay [1930], 149). For Paul's prefatory letter see *idem*, p.76; for the very defective tradition of the *de verborum significatu* see L.D. Reynolds (1983), 162-4.

ii. Adamnan's late 7th-c. *De locis sanctis* II.xvi.6, 7: *Haec (quadrata ecclesia) .iiii. lapideis suffulta cancris stat super aquas inhabitabilis, quia sub ipsam hinc et inde subintrant aquae. Haec desuper coctili protegitur creta. Inferius vero, ut dicum est, cancris et arcibus sustentata haec talis ecclesia in locis inferioribus illius vallis exstat per quam influit Iordanis fluvius;; II.xxvi.2: Una in medio civitatis loco super duos fundata cancos, ubi quondam illa fuerat domus edificata Dominus in qua noster nutritus est Salvator* (ed. L. Bieler [1965], 214, 219). Niermeyer, *MLLM*. wrongly translates *cancer* as *cintre*, *voûte*.

CHAPTER 7

This chapter is a logical progression from the construction of etymologies of words which constituted c.6, but Walahfrid is here concerned with Latin-German and Greek-German equivalents, not Latin-Latin ones. He weaves the etymology of some German words used for liturgical matters into a history, the first to do so. For the significant place of this chapter in the growing interest in the vernacular and Carolingian education, see the Introduction, 47. Not surprisingly, since Walahfrid is the first to write a historical account of Old High German, his text provides the first occurrence of several OHG words that will be the focus of an elementary linguistic commentary.

A brief history of *theodisce* / *deutsch* is appropriate here. *Theodiscus*, adverb *theodisce*, is a Latin loanword from a Germanic adjective **fiudisk* (from a noun **feudo* "people, folk") - Gothic *fiuda*, adverb *fiudisko*, Old English *feod*, Old High German *thiota*. In Latin, it

has three meanings: "vernacular" in contrast to Latin, more specifically "the language of the East Franks", more generally "barbarian", even "heathen".

The earliest known occurrence is in a report to Hadrian I by the papal legate George of Ostia, probably written by Charlemagne's chaplain Wigbod, which states that the resolutions of the Synod of Corbridge were read out at the Synod of Chelsea in 786, *tam latine quam theodisce, quo omnes intellegere potuissent*. This must mean that they were read "in the (Anglo-Saxon) vernacular". In 813, the Synod of Tours discussed the pastoral problems raised by the bilingualism of the people of the diocese, and Charlemagne urged on the clergy the necessity of translating sermons *in rusticam Romanam linguam aut theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intellegere, quae dicuntur*. Here, there is a clear distinction between the two vernaculars, vulgar Romance (i.e. emergent French) and German. Also interesting in this context is the Latin/Old High German account of the "Strasbourg Oaths" - the alliance of Louis the German and Charles the Bald against Lothar in 842: *Lodhuuicus romana, Karolus vero teudisca lingua iuraverunt*. That is, each took the oath in the language of the other's army - Old French and Old High German. While the aristocracy was still probably bilingual in the two vernaculars of the West and East Franks, the majority of the army was not, and the two rulers had to demonstrate their alliance publically in the language of both armies. In the account of the imperial assembly of 788, at which *Franci et Baioarii, Langobardi et Saxones* were present, it is apparent that *theodiscus* already denoted the Germanic language area of the Carolingian kingdom as a whole. (Tassilo was convicted of the crime *quod theodisca lingua harisliz* ["army splitting", i.e. "desertion"] *dicitur*).

The similarity of these formulations suggests that the word *theodisce* was part of the administrative idiom of the Carolingian Empire and its cultural programme. It must have arisen, as a Latin loanword, in

the border lands of the Western and Eastern Frankish Kingdoms. The term "Frankish" may for the Romance-speaking West Franks have come to denote their language (and so eventually "French"); for the Germanic-speaking East Franks they came to use the label **theodisk*. This survives in medieval French as *tiedeis*, *tieis* and in place names like *Thionville*, settlement of a Germanic-Frankish landlord. The German-speaking East Franks, and the other German peoples of the eastern kingdom were much slower to adopt the name *deutsch* for themselves. Thus the monk of Weisenburg, Otfrid, explaining why he wrote a Gospel Harmony in Old High German, around 865, writes a preface *Cur scriptor hunc librum theotisce dictaverit* - yet in the German text of the preface he uses the terms *frenkisg*, *in frenkisga zungun*, recurring in Latin form *francice* in a dedicatory letter to Luitbert of Mainz. Notker ("Labeo") of St. Gallen (950-1022) is the first to use the word in its German form, to mean "in the German language"; but his phrase *in diutiscun*, for all that Notker's prime literary activity is as a translator, occurs extremely rarely and is very probably a "back-translation" from Latin *theodiscus*. The German word, in the form *diutsch*, only becomes established and widely used, to denote language, then people and territory, from the very end of the 11th c. onwards.

I am indebted to Dr. Jeffrey Ashcroft for generous help with the linguistic commentary in this chapter.

481.7-12 DICAM ... EUM: This rhetorical topos (see commentary on verse preface, pp. 136-8) is based on the early medieval view that the vernacular (*barbariem*) was inferior to Greek and Latin. It occurs also in the preface of *Adomnan's Vita Columbae*: *Et nec ob aliqua scoticae vilis videlicet linguae aut humana onomata aut gentium obscura locorumve vocabula, quae ut puto inter alias exterarum gentium diversas vilescunt linguas, utilium et non sine divina opitulatione gestarum dispiciant*

rerum pronuntiationem (Anderson [1961], 178); in Walahfrid's *Vita S. Galli: Siquidem nomina eorum qui scribendorum testes sunt vel fuerunt, propter sui barbariem, ne Latini sermonis inficiant honorem, pratermitimus ...II.9* (MGH SS rer. Merov. IV, 318); and even within the Latin preface to Otfrid of Weissenburg's *Evangelienbuch: enim linguae barbaries ut est inculta et indisciplinabilis ...*, although it was a major work written in Old High German verse (see introduction to this chapter and below, 481.12-14).

481.10-12 SCIMUS ... EUM: This is one of the rare occurrences of prefiguration in *De exordiis*; see commentary on 15:489.27 and the Introduction, 21-2.

481.11-12 DOMINUS ... EUM: Walahfrid uses an interesting variation on Ps 146.9 (*Iuxta LXX*, or the Gallican version): *et dat iumentis escam ipsorum et pullis corvorum invocantibus eum*; see the Introduction, 37 for Psalter versions. There are no Biblical references to the Lord's feeding *columbas* (NCBS s.v.).

481.13 VERAM ... PHILOSOPHIAM: Note identical words in Alcuin's *Disputatio de vera philosophia*, copied into Walahfrid's *Vademecum* by 'hand L', i.e., one of the unknown scribes working alternately with the mature Walahfrid, identified by Bischoff (1950; rpt. in MAS II (1967), 40); see the Introduction, 14 for a description of this extraordinary MS. The subject of this treatise, controversially linked to Alcuin's *De grammatica*, is the search for wisdom and a justification of a Christian's study of the Liberal Arts; a key influence is Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*.

481.12-14 LEGANT ... PHILOSOPHIAM: But here Walahfrid unexpectedly brings dignity to *nostram barbariem*. This desire to lift the vernacular to the level of Greek and Latin is evident in other writings of the period. Lupus of Ferrières adjusted Germanic names to suit his Latin poetic form (Ep.6): more strikingly, Otfrid of Weissenburg

wrote of the dignity of the Frankish language and its suitability for singing the praise of Christ, in the prefaces to his *Evangelienbuch* (c.863-871), a Gospel harmony in Old High German verse.

481.16 APPELLATIONES: See (similarly) 6:480.22 and 27:510.2.

481.17-28 UT AB HEBREIS ... ACCEPIMUS: Unfortunately, Walahfrid does not have the benefit of nineteenth-century comparative philology, and the following discussion of the relationship between Greek, Latin, Gothic and German words labours under a basic misconception. While Walahfrid correctly perceives that German borrows some of its Christian vocabulary from Greek and Latin in the form of loan words, he does not know (and could not conceivably have known!) how to distinguish between loan vocabulary and etymological cognates. That is to say: German possesses words related to Latin and Greek words for two main reasons. Partly because under specific historical circumstances it borrows cultural material and the language to denote it, i.e. loan words. But also, and fundamentally, because Greek, Latin and the Germanic family of languages are ancestrally related. They all belong to the Indo-European family of languages and have a core of basic vocabulary (and features of grammatical structure, etc.) in common. Hence the obvious relationship of the words:

Greek *pater* Latin *pater* Gothic *fadar* German *Vater* Sanskrit *pitar*. Walahfrid's model, Greek -> Latin -> German ->, is therefore too simple.

481.17-18 UT AB HEBREIS ... SUNT: Isidore's *Etymologiae* could have been his source here: *amen*: *Etym.* VI.xix.20, *alleluia*: *Etym.* VI.xix.19.20, *osanna*: *Etym.* VI.xix.22.

481.19 ECCLESIAM: See 6:479.12.

481.21 SCAMEL: footstool - ASW VI:496. loan word from the Latin *scamillus*. Unexceptional. OHG Tatian.

481.21 FENESTRA: window - ASW III:544, AHDW III:736. loan word from the Latin *fenestra*; still in use in Middle High German. First

occurrence. Note that there appears to be no use of *De exordiis* in the sources for AHDW, but (?) glosses of his poetry are used.

481.21 LECTAR: lectern in the choir of a church - ASW II:162. In early glosses. Loan word from later (7th c. A.D.) Latin *lectorium*, *lectionarium*.

481.22 CHELIH: chalice - ASW IV:388-399. Unexceptional. Early (1-3c. A.D.) loan word. OHG Tatian. For *cylix*, the Latin from the Greek, see 25:503.29.

481.22 PHATER: father - ASW III:374-78. Cognate.

481.23 MOTER: mother - ASW II:709-10. Cognate. Unexceptional.

481.23 GENEZ: women's apartment - ASW IV:217, AHDW IV:214.

Appears only in glosses; earliest usage.

481.25 ATTO: father - ASW I:145, AHDW I:689. Cognate/baby word.

481.25 AMMA: mother - ASW I:251, AHDW I:326. Cognate/baby word.

481.25 TODO: godfather - ASW V:381. Cognate. Latin - *patrinus*, *appater*.

481.25 TODA: godmother - ASW V:381. Cognate. Latin - *admater*.

De exordiis appears to be the earliest use of *atto*, *amma*, *todo* and *toda*. Note that they were the only words in c.7 that Graff - the compiler of ASW - took from *De exordiis*.

481.26 KYRICA: church - ASW IV:481-82. This is indeed a loan word from Greek. Its Upper German form *kirihha* shows it (phonologically) to be an early borrowing, before the mid-5th c. It is common to OHG and Anglo-Saxon, i.e. it must have been borrowed before the Anglo-Saxons left the Continent, within a Northern context. It does not occur in Gothic.

481.26 PAPO: familiar name for a cleric - ASW III:329-30. Loan word from the Greek. Except for its use in early place names, this is the earliest use; see A. Waag (1931/32), 1/2, 1-54, esp. 5-14.

The most interesting of the loan words: Walahfrid describes it as a borrowing from the Greek *papa*, not from Greek via Latin. He means the

word which in its Upper (Southern) OHG form is *pfaffo* (Modern German *Pfaffe* - since the Reformation used only as a derogatory term for priest). This cannot have been borrowed from Latin: phonologically, because of the -o ending, semantically because for Walahfrid it means 'priest in general' not, as the Latin word did, 'bishop' and eventually exclusively the bishop of Rome, 'pope'.

481.27 HERORO: lord - ASW IV:991-993. Walahfrid's etymology is interesting and logical, but incorrect. By origin it is a noun formed from the comparative of the adjective *her* (related to English *hoary*), meaning 'white-haired, venerable'.

481.27 MANO: moon - ASW II:794-797. Cognate. Unexceptional.

481.27 MANOTH: month - ASW II:795. Cognate. Unexceptional.

This concludes the comments on the OHG words. Only brief comments are needed on the following three Latin words.

481.23 GENETIO: *genetium*, the women's apartments, from *gynaecium*; see *Etym.* XV.vi.3.

481.24 GENITOR: father: from *gigno*, -ere, *genui*, *genitum* to beget (L&S).

481.24 GENETRIX: mother: from *gigno* to bring forth (L&S).

481.27 CLERICORUM: *Clericus* is a generalized term for any person in ecclesiastical orders, regardless of rank.

481.30-40 SI AUTEM QUAERITUR ... OFFICIA: Walahfrid's remarks are the earliest attempt to account for the influence of Gothic on German. It also helps to explain why there is not only a local influence on Bavarian dialect, but also a much more wide spread dissemination of certain Greek/Gothic words, notably *papo/pfaffo*.

481.34 GOTHIS: E. A. Thompson argues that the Goths, their Bible, liturgy and documents which Walahfrid describes are most likely Ostrogoths, not Visigoths (Thompson [1966], 23).

481.35 LICET NON RECTO ITINERE: a clear reference to the Arianism of Bishop Ulphilas (d.383), who translated the Bible from Greek into

Gothic, the earliest known literary monument in a Germanic language; see also the Introduction, 49.

481.36-38 HISTORIAE ... TRANSTULERINT: See Cassiodorus, HE VIII.xiii: *Tunc etiam Ulfilas Gothorum episcopus letteras Gothicas adinvenit et scripturas divinas in eam convertit linguam* (CSEL lxxi, 485); see also Isidore, *Historia Gothorum* c. 7.8; however, in the absence of other evidence of familiarity with this text, it is unlikely that it was one of Walahfrid's sources for this information.

481.37 STUDIOSI: Cp. 1:476.9.

481.38 TRANSTULERINT: Cp. 26:508.27 *interpretes*.

481.38-39 FIDELIUM FRATRUM RELATIONE: This appears to be derived from an unknown source, probably oral tradition.

481.40 OFFICIA: For the use of *officium* to mean 'a liturgical service' (or, as in *De exordiis, officia*, to mean 'the liturgy') and its connection with the early rudimentary use of *statio* see C. Mohrmann (1953), rpt. in her *Études sur le latin des Chrétiens* III, 307-330, esp. 322-24.

CHAPTER 8

Although the iconoclast controversy was supposed to have been put to rest in the west at the Paris synod in 825 (with the ruling in favor of restoring images and pictures in the churches so long as they were not worshipped), this chapter is clear evidence that it continued to be a problem. The villain in this case appears to be the difficult Claudius of Turin, an early 9th-c. protester against pilgrimages, the worship of images, the cross, and the intercession of saints, but who did not achieve the results Luther did several centuries later (M. Manitius [1910], 393; J. Herrin [1987], 469-472). Walahfrid's customary equanimity slips when he reacts to Claudius's troubling ideas raging simultaneously with the 825 synod.

The result is a detailed picture of the mid-9th-c. moderate Frankish position, an extended defence of the use of pictures and images in an era and area which had felt the repercussions of the iconoclast controversy, where the emphasis is practical rather than theological or philosophical. Excesses of both veneration and proliferation of images as well as their contempt and elimination, although not a concern at the synodal level, were clearly a concern of individuals with pastoral cares, who continued to have a genuine interest in the place of images in Christian worship.

482.3 DE IMAGINIBUS ... AUGETUR: Walahfrid introduces the Carolingian view on pictures and images in churches which was based on Gregory the Great: images are for the ornamentation of churches and the instruction of the illiterate: see Gregory's letter to Serenus, Bp. of Marseilles (CCSL 140 A, 873). For an elaboration of Walahfrid's personal thoughts on the image question see 484.1-8.

482.5 VIDETUR and 6 EXISTIMANT: The present tense indicates a contemporary problem.

482.8-9 NON FACIES ... SUNT: Walahfrid's passage differs from the Vulgate: *non facies tibi sculptile neque omnem similitudinem quae est in caelo desuper et quae in terra deorsum nec eorum quae sunt in aquis sub terra* (Ex 20.4).

482.17 MYSTERII: an exception to the synonymous use of *mysterium* and *sacramentum*; see commentary c.3:477.9. Cp. c.2:476.23-4: *in illis materialibus structuris aedificium ecclesiae spiritale*.

482.18-20 OB COMMEMORATIONEM ... EIUS: Walahfrid may possibly be referring here to the wall paintings which adorned the church and *aula* of the imperial palace at Ingelheim. As tutor to Prince Charles, he could have been part of the royal entourage which is recorded as visiting Ingelheim in 831 and 836 (BM², 353-354, 391)

Although they no longer exist, they are described in detail in a 38-verse section of Ermoldus Nigellus's elegiac poem, *Carmen elegiacum in honorem Hludovici christianissimi Caesaris Augusti*, written in the late 820s. There were scenes of the tyrants of antiquity and the founders of the world empires and their adversaries, Walahfrid's *ob commemorationem rerum gestarum, ut picturae hystoriarum* (482.18); and there were scenes from the Old and New Testaments, which would have included *imagines Domini et sanctorum eius* (482.19-20). For Ermoldus's poem see *MGH Poetae* II, 63-66; and E. Faral (1932), 156-166, lines 2068 ff.; English translation, P. Godman (1985), 252-255.

Walahfrid also refers to pictures on walls in his poem, *Visio Wettini*, which retells the prose version of a death-bed vision of his former teacher, Wetti. In the vision Wetti was led to the walls of a supremely beautiful place. These walls were not painted, however, but *anaglifa* -- carved in bas-relief (H. Knittel [1986], 70.532).

482.34-483.1 HUIUS ... RESTITUERENTUR: Walahfrid's account as it stands is confusing and inaccurate. His source is probably the *Liber Pontificalis*, the end of the account of Gregory II and the beginning of Gregory III (LP I, 409, 415-16). If so, he has been unusually careless in his use of the LP. It is important to know that Constantine V, from the age of two, was co-Emperor with his father, Leo III, from 719-741, and was Emperor from 741-755. In 730, just before the end of the papacy of Gregory II, images were abolished in Constantinople during the joint reigns of Leo III and his son, Constantine V: *Fuit autem temporibus Leoni et Constantini imperatoribus, ea persecutione crassante quae per ipsos mota est ad depositionem et destructionem sacrarum imaginum domini nostri Iesu Christi et sancte Dei genetricis, sanctorum apostolorum omniumque sanctorum et confessorum* (LP I, 415). Walahfrid is correct, however, that in Gregory III's first year as Pope (elected Mar.18, 731) he did indeed hold a synod at Rome (Nov.1, 731) *contra supradictam, ut dixerunt,*

heresim, in qua firmatum est, ut sanctorum imagines secundum priscum catholicae ecclesiae usum restituerentur (482.37-483.1). For a modern treatment of the beginning of the iconoclastic controversy and western reaction see the excellent short summary in ODCC, s.v. ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY, 687-688, with bibliography up to 1973. S. Gero provides a more recent study of the situation (Gero [1977], 37-52 and 143-51).

483.1-3 IPSA ... CONFUTATA: Walahfrid's account of the western reaction to the *querela Grecorum* after the 731 synod at Rome demonstrates that, unusually, he had not read the available source-texts: his knowledge of the 825 Paris synod, called by Louis the Pious to put this controversy to rest, is superficial; his errors and omissions in this passage seem to point to oral sources. One of his informants could well have been Amalarius, a participant and a resident at the palace with Walahfrid from 829-830 (OLO I.72-3).

This *querela Grecorum* had been introduced into Francia in 790, a generation before Louis the Pious. Walahfrid omits the restoration of image worship at Nicea II in 787, its endorsement by Pope Hadrian I and the Frankish reaction of 790-794. He makes no mention of the *Libri Carolini*, the only documented source of Frankish concern over what they saw as errors in the Nicene Council. The proceedings of the Paris Council were kept at Aachen. They made no mention of the *Libri Carolini*, also kept at Aachen but still an embarrassing issue (A. Freeman [1985], 100-105); Nicea II and the Papal and Frankish reactions were otherwise fully discussed in the proceedings of the Paris Council (MGH *Conc.* II, 481).

Walahfrid's omission of this western reaction to the development of the iconoclast controversy appears to indicate that by this time the image question was no longer of theological or synodal interest, or perhaps he simply did not know of the existence at Aachen of the Paris Council proceedings and the *Libri Carolini*.

483.2 BONAE ... IMPERATORIS: The crucial phrase for the dating of *De exordiis*; see the Introduction, 29.

483.5 SED IN VERITATIS ... NUTABUNDUS: a sharp, two-pronged jibe at Claudius: *claudus* means 'halting, lame, crippled'; *iter* indicates Claudius's attack on pilgrimages. Another focus of attack was the intercession of saints which Walahfrid justifies at considerable length below, 483.19-28.

483.6 ANTEQUAM ... PERFODERETUR: Claudius's views (MGH *Epp.* IV, 610-613 [excerpts only]) were refuted at the request of Louis the Pious by Dungal, an Irish monk at St. Denis, later at Pavia, in *Responsa contra perversas Claudii sententias* (MGH *Epp.* IV, 583-5) and by Jonas of Orleans in *De cultu imaginum* (MGH *Epp.* V.i, 353-355) which was not completed until after 840 (M. Manitius [1911], 377). For a recent account of Claudius with full bibliography see G. Sergi, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, s.v. However, Sergi is in error when he attributes the dating of Claudius's death in 827 to Walahfrid, *De exordiis*, c.8:483. Walahfrid refers only to the death of Claudius, but the document which last mentions Claudius with the date 827 is found in *I Placiti del 'Regnum Italiae'*, vol.I, 115. Since Jonas's *De cultu imaginum* was not completed until after 840, it is only certain that Claudius died before that date (M. Manitius [1911], 377). If *De exordiis* were indeed rewritten in 842, it would narrow Jonas's composition of *De cultu imaginum* to 840-842.

483.7-10 FORTASSE ... CALCARI: For a psychological view of the disrespect for the imperial image, see P.L. Brown (1982), 251-301, esp. 266.

483.16-28 ERGO CUM ... POTERUNT: A refutation of another *vanitatum suarum ineptia*, Claudius's stand against the intercession of St Peter; see also his reply to Theodimir (MGH *Epp.* IV, 610-613). Walahfrid's position on the intercession of saints in the canon of the Mass reflects the orthodox view of the 9th-c. Christian church (*publicas*

ecclesiae orationes, 483.26-28). The implications of the teaching of the NT (Rm 12.4-8 and Eph 2.19) form the basis of the Biblical foundation of the devotion to saints and their efficacy as intercessors on behalf of man to God. Liturgical evidence is first attested by Justin the Martyr (obit. c.167) in his first 'Apology' (V. Kennedy [1963], 1-12) and St. Augustine (354-430) mentions the prayers of intercession several times in his references to the services in use in his day (V. Kennedy [1963], 28). Walahfrid looks at the matter historically in c.23:501.8ff.

483.21 OMNE ... PERFECTUM: Walahfrid omits the key words, *desursum est*, which demands the familiar translation: 'Every best gift and every perfect gift is from above'.

483.26-28 TALES ... POTERUNT: Walahfrid defines *preces fidelium* as the *publicas ecclesiae orationes*, or the canon of the Mass in which the intercession of saints is sought in the *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*.

Preces is a word for prayer that occurs only six times in *De exordiis*, *oratio* being the most common. Cabié suggests that the meaning of *prex* is the Eucharistic Prayer (CAP II, 91). I would suggest that Walahfrid uses it to designate the all the prayers in a mass-set (see commentary 23:498.23-25). Although he is not consistent (in his broad introductory statement of c.23:496.22 *orationes* certainly designates prayers of the mass-set), the two words clearly have different meanings (23:498.29 and 26:506.20 *preces et orationes*). With the exception of c.4:478.6 where the reference is to OT prayers, 'prayers of the mass-set' suits the context very well: see here c.8:483.27; cc.23:498.29, 31. 503.14; 26:506.20.

483.27 NORUNT: a rare form of *nosco*, -ere, *novi*, *notum*.

483.35-36 QUO VEL ... VALEAMUS: Placed amid the careful reasoning and complex rhetorical style, this simple statement reveals the deep significance which this 9th-c. Christian placed on material structures and

their embellishments (the topic of the first major section of *De exordiis*); cp. c.26:506.20.

484.2-3 QUIDAM ... HISTORIAS: I have been unable to find the source for this intriguing but vague reference.

484.3-5 IN GESTIS ... COGNIVISSE: The 'Deeds of Pope Sylvester' has a complex and difficult textual history (W. Levison [1948], 390-450). However, Walahfrid's use of *thoracida*, in his account of Constantine's vision of the apostles Peter and Paul, provides a clue to the text available to him in Reichenau and St. Gallen. Levison, planning an edition of the *Gesta Silvestri*, the last being Mombricitus's 1497 edition, divided the manuscripts into several groups, A and B concerning us here. Printed texts of the *Gesta* -- Mombricitus's edition, the 825 Paris synod (*MGH Conc.* II, 485), the *Libri Carolini* (*MGH Conc.* II supplementum) -- all follow version A, *imaginem apostolorum*. *Thoracida* is unique to the B text. Walahfrid seems not to have read either the *Libri Carolini* or the proceedings of the Paris synod (see commentary 483.1-3). Both the St. Gallen and Reichenau library lists include *Vita sancti Silvestri* (MBDS I, 78.247). From Walahfrid's use of *thoracida* we may conclude that Levison's B text was his source.

484.5 VIDEMUS: This appears to be based on Walahfrid's own experience about which there is no written account.

484.7 LITURIS: *Litura*, -ae f. from *lino*, -ere, *levi*, *litum* to rub in: see L&S II. to rub off, a correction. Walahfrid's wide ranging technical knowledge results in a fascinating range of vocabulary throughout *De exordiis*, e.g. *fusilibus*, *productilibus* and *cornibus* (c.5:478.31,38). *Litura* creates a vivid image of old pagan imagery being erased and the new Christian imagery being incised on the hearts of the illiterate.

CHAPTER 9

Evidence in this chapter for 9th-c. liturgy used in the dedication of churches is disappointing. Walahfrid first summarizes the history of

Old Testament ritual for dedicating churches and altars, and then introduces pagan religious devotion as an inspiration for Christians. For a modern historical study, but with particular emphasis on the ritual, see CAP I, 215-218, esp. 216; see also G.G. Willis (1968), 135-173 with invaluable references. See C. Vogel (1986), 180-81 for the latest listing of the sources, e.g., *Ordines* and sacramentaries, and their most recent editions.

484.16 DEDICATIONE ... CONSECRANDA: two words whose classical meanings were simply transferred to the Christian religion; see the excellent summary s.v. *consecro* (TLL). Note Walahfrid's careful distinction between the two: the consecration of a church or altar is a solemn, private result of public dedication accompanied by ritual. By Walahfrid's time the rite for the dedication of a church or altar had become standardized, generally according to the Roman or the Gallican dedication rite, depending upon the geographical location of the church.

484.30 CONCILIO AGATENSI: a.506 Council of Agde, c.14: *Altaria vero placuit non solum unctione chrismatis sed etiam sacerdotali benedictione sacrari* (CCSL 148, 200). Most early evidence for the dedication of altars specify simply *unctio chrismatis*; the blessing by the priest is an addition which is not repeated in later texts.

484.31 ALIA EXEMPLA ... ALTARIUM: Rituals for the dedication of altars and churches were well established by the mid-9th c., e.g. Old Gelasian sacramentary: *Orationes in dedicatione basilicae novae* (nos.107-110, ed. Mohlberg), the sacramentary of Angoulême: *Ordo consecrationis basilicae novae* (no.2020, ed. P. Saint-Roché) and OR XLI: *Ordo quomodo ecclesia debeat dedicari*.

In his prose *Vita Galli* Walahfrid writes a vivid account of a rededication of a church in the early 7th c. Written before 837 it was a revision of two earlier Lives of St. Gall: the *Vita Vetustissima*, an

early 8th-c. account of which only a fragment survives, and the *Vita Galli* which survives in St. Gallen MS 553 written by Walahfrid's teacher Wetti, who died in 824. Columba rededicates a church ca.610 which had originally been dedicated to St. Aurelia, but was then being used for worshipping pagan idols added to the wall. Wetti did not elaborate on the rededication of the little church: ... *vir Dei Columbanus aquam benedixit, atque sanctificando loca contaminata, ecclesiae sanctae Auriliae honorem pristinum restituit* ... (MGH SS rer. Merov. IV, 260).

Walahfrid gives a much fuller account:

Columbanus ordered water to be brought, and blessing it, he sprinkled the church with it. After they walked around chanting psalms [or perhaps the litany -- see Ordo XLI], he dedicated the church. Next, calling upon the name of the Lord, he anointed the altar and placed the relics of St. Aurelia in it. After the altar was covered with a cloth, they celebrated the mass lawfully. And when everything had been accomplished liturgically, the people went back into their church with great joy.

Beatus autem Columbanus iussit aquam afferri, et benedicens illam, aspersit ea templum, et dum circumirent psallentes, dedicavit ecclesiam. Deinde, invocato nomine Domini, unxit altare et beatae Aureliae reliquias in eo collocavit, vestitoque altari, missas legitime compleverunt. Omnibus itaque rite peractis, reversus est populus in sua ecclesia cum gaudio magno (MGH SS rer. Merov. IV, 289).

Historical writing of this period inevitably superimposes contemporary practice onto that of an earlier age, presenting in this case important evidence for 9th-c. ritual. This corresponds remarkably with OR XLI, with simplifications which make it seem suitable for an early 7th-c. rural ceremony. Walahfrid's sense of history results in good theatre.

484.38-485.2 QUARE ... CUREMUS: Cp. a decretal falsely attributed to Felix IV (526-530) where the rituals of Jews, not pagans, foreshadow Christian dedication of temples and altars:

The Jews then had places consecrated with divine prayers, where they offered sacrifices unto the Lord, and they did not make oblation to Him in other places than those dedicated to Him. But if the Jews who served the shadow of the Law did so, all the more ought we, to whom the truth has been revealed and grace and truth have been given by the Lord, to build temples

to him, adorn them to the best of our ability, and consecrate them devoutly and solemnly with divine prayers and holy anointings, together with their altars and utensils, the vestments and other things necessary for the performance of the cult (*Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. P. Hinschius, [Leipsig, 1863], 700; trans. J. Chydenius [1965], 62).

CHAPTER 10

Worship (cc.15-26), teaching and baptism (c.27) are the three functions allowed in a consecrated building. Walahfrid bases his argument on Biblical sources, with a few etymological additions. For other etymological analyses, see chapters 7 and 25, but especially c.6, *Expositio nominum quorundam sacris rebus adiacentium*.

485.8 ANGELORUM: Walahfrid's references to angels in *De exordiis* are unremarkable: angels indicate the holiness of a place, are seen in dreams, are conscious of our actions and can see us (here in c.10); we worship in their presence (c.12); angels are in heaven in the presence of God, they guard holy places, some were cast out of heaven by sin (c.13); they are without material composition (c.14); they are inferior to Christ (c.17); they sang at Christ's birth in the flesh, their songs are delightful to hear (c.23); they appear when men pray (c.26).

He follows traditional early medieval thought which is based firmly on OT and NT accounts. There was little patristic interpretation or elaboration, nor was it a particular concern of his contemporaries. Angels and angelology are of little concern to scholars today. The most complete accounts are the ODCC, NCE, DMA and EJ, s.v., all with bibliographies before 1960. Additionally, the JB, 'Index of Biblical Themes in the Footnotes', s.v., provides information unavailable elsewhere.

485.12 PSALMISTA: Walahfrid uses this term to designate 'The Psalmist', David, the supposed composer of the Psalms of the OT. In c.32:516.16 he uses the term again, but to designate those who chant the

psalms in the church and who correspond to those in the secular world who are the tellers of tales. See commentary c.32:516.16 for the place of the *psalmista* in the minor orders.

485.13 CONSPECTU: See commentary c.4:478.30.

485.15 DUODENNIS: There appears to be no reference to either classical or Biblical use of this term for a twelve year old. Its use is rare in early Christian and early medieval texts.

485.19 PAULUS VOTA PERSOLVIT: See Act 21.23-26.

485.20-24 EADEM DOMUS ... OFFITIUM: Lines 5-19 present Biblical sources for two activities permitted in consecrated places: worship, which includes prayer and sacrifice, and teaching. Here he presents a unique etymology for *oratorium*, a synonym for *domus Dei*, which becomes the basis for the activities of prayer and teaching.

485.20 DEPRECATIONIBUS: This is a unique occurrence of *deprecatio* in *De exordiis*; see also c.12:486.24 for the single use of *deprecor*, -atus. *Oratio* is Walahfrid's most common word for 'prayer', but he does also use *preces*, for which see commentary c.23:498.31.

485.22 HUMILIS POSTULATIO: Cp. *Etym.* VI.xix.59: *Oratio petitio dicitur. Nam orare est petere ...*

485.23 PRIMI ORDINES: This is the only use of this term in *De exordiis*; Walahfrid is referring to the major orders: bishops, priests and deacons. The distinguishing mark of the last two named was the wearing of the linen *orarium*, or stole, similar to the bishop's woollen *pallium*, a long rectangular piece of fabric which goes around the neck with ends falling in front almost to the feet, crossed or uncrossed, or over the left shoulder, depending on the rank of office. Its origin seems to have been a handkerchief, or neck cloth. Its development as a badge of office is a long and complex one treated in detail by F. Cabrol ([1922], 286), L. Duchesne (1927, 390-94), P. Leclercq (DACL under *orarium*) and CAP I, 189-91 with references. For its use today as a deacon's stole in

the Eastern Church, see ODCC s.v. ORARION, 1001. Walahfrid makes an etymological connection between *oratio* and *orarium*, the badge of a teacher, one who uses *oris rationem*. The office of teaching, of course, belonged to a bishop, but his use of an *orarium* was ambiguous (see L. Duchesne [1927], 394¹). Walahfrid also refers to *orarium* as a garment for a *sacerdos* in c.25: About vessels and sacred vestments.

485.25-29 BAPTISMUM ... REGENERENTUR: Baptism is the third activity suitable for a consecrated place. Walahfrid's Biblical sources had to be taken from the OT since NT baptisms did not yet take place in consecrated buildings. See c.9 for Walahfrid's history of the dedication of churches.

485.26 MARE: an extremely large bronze container for water: v.26 ... it contained 2,000 baths (III Rg 7.23-36); see the expository note in the D-R: that is, about 10,000 gallons.

485.26 LUTERES: smaller containers for water that held only 40 baths: *quadraginta batos capiebat luter* (III Rg 7.38).

CHAPTER 11

Walahfrid's emphasis on the inappropriateness of banqueting in churches underlines a chronic problem of the middle ages: this prohibition is frequently found in capitularies and ecclesiastical synods; see below 486.8. He makes a further reference to the problem in c.20:493.22.

485.35 PRIMUM ... ESSE: The Vulgate text reads: *Primum quidem convenientibus vobis in ecclesia scissuras esse* (I Cor 11.18); note Walahfrid's omission of *in ecclesia*.

486.5 BENEDICTUS: This is the first of three references to Benedict of Nursia (c.480-c.550); the remaining two are in cc.12 and 26. In this chapter and in c.12 Walahfrid makes five quotations from three chapters of the *Regula S. Benedicti*: here 486.5-6, and in c.12:486.11, 11-12, 12-13 and 13-15. Is it possible to infer Walahfrid's source-text for the RB from the evidence?

Reichenau was the home of what is now St. Gallen MS 914, the copy of the RB made in or shortly after 817 by Walahfrid's teachers, Tatto and Grimald. In a letter transmitted in St. Gallen MS 914 (MGH *Epp.* V, 302) the two copyists claim that they had used an exemplar which was itself copied from Benedict's 'autograph'. Since L. Traube's fundamental study of 1898, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, it has been identified as the copy taken to Aachen in (?)787 to become the standard text of the RB. The text in St. Gallen MS 914 was reproduced in an edition by A. Amelli and G. Morin, *Regulae Sancti Benedicti: Codicum Mss Casinensium*, (Monte Cassino, 1900).

For more recent views of the transmission of the RB, both in the version represented in St. Gallen MS 914 and in the so-called 'interpolated' version, see R. Hanslik's introduction, i-lxxv in his 1960 edition, *Benedicti Regula*, but cp. the critique of this edition by P. Meyvaert (1963), 83-106.

Was St. Gallen MS 914 Walahfrid's source-text? The small number of quotations make it impossible to offer a definitive statement, but a detailed comparison of their texts in *De exordiis* and SG 914 allows for an interesting observation: Two quotations in c.12, 486.11-12 *et non in multiloquio ... sciamus* (RB c.20) and 486.12-13 *non in clamosa ... cordis* (RB c.70), contain no textual differences. The quotation in this chapter, 486.5-6 *oratorum ... condatur*, has one orthographic difference. One quotation in c.12:486.11 *brevis ... oratio* (RB c.20) differs in orthography and word order, for which there is no other MS evidence. It is followed by the fifth quotation, 486:11-12 *et non in multiloquio ... sciamus* (RB c.20). This contains no textual differences, but Walahfrid has reversed the order of the two phrases, another variation for which there is no other MS evidence.

The discrepancies between the two texts could indicate that Walahfrid was writing from memory, or that he had adapted the RB to suit his own needs, a process already evident in his use of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (see esp. c.6.). In any case, they are strong indications that intellectual ecclesiastics did not rigorously follow Charlemagne's established norms; see also the Introduction, 6.

486.5-6 ORATORUM ... CONDATUR: *oratorum* is a rare MGH misprint; it should of course read *oratorium*.

RB c.70: (A = Amelli)

W: *oratorum hoc sit, quod dicitur, nec ibi quicquam aliud geratur autcondatur.*

A: *Oratorium hoc sit quod dicitur, nec ibi quidquam aliud geratur aut condatur.*

486.8 IN CANONIBUS: Cp. the Council of Carthage III, c.27: *Ut clerici edendi vel bibendi causa tabernas non ingrediantur nisi peregrinationis necessitate* (CCH III, 327); *Breviarium Hipponense*, c.29: *Ut nulli episcopi vel clerici in ecclesia conviventur, nisi forte transeuntes hospitiorum necessitate illic reficiant; populi etiam ab huiusmodi conviviis, quantum potest fieri, prohibeantur* (CCSL 149, 41).

A small rural church, however, could be the only place in an area large enough to offer Christian hospitality to travellers. It could also function as a social hall for the local inhabitants; overindulgence could easily have arisen!

Excesses of sociability and hospitality were (theoretically) avoided in Benedictine monasteries. Chapter 53 of the *Regula S. Benedicti* indicates that the monastery should show fitting honour to all guests and receive them like Christ, since He said, 'I was a stranger and you took Me in'. The Rule makes clear, however, that guests should be cared for in a separate kitchen and entertained by the abbot.

CHAPTER 12

Walahfrid makes a few additional comments on those things permitted and forbidden in churches which he examined in chapters 10 and 11, but continues to develop further the matter of prayer. He introduces a new theme, the intentions behind Christian actions, which links this chapter with the next two.

Note that chapters 12-18 have many passages that are derived from the Patristic tradition. Walahfrid is an excellent example of a Carolingian scholar who has thoroughly absorbed Biblical and a recently enlarged range of Patristic material which provide the bases for these chapters without much direct quotation. For the accessibility of Patristic texts to early medieval writers see W. Levison (1946), 132-73; D.A. Bullough (1985), 292¹ and *Which Fathers?* (unpublished lecture).

486.11 BREVIS ... ORATIO: RB c.20. (A = Amelli)

W: *Brevis et pura debet esse oratio*

A: *Et edeo brebis debet esse et pura oratio*

486.11-12 ET NON IN MULTILOQUIO ... SCIAMUS: RB c.20. Walahfrid here reverses the two phrases which are standard in RB: no variants have

been noted by the editors, nor in 486.12-13 NON IN CLAMOSA ... CORDIS:
RB c.70.

486.13-15 CONSIDEREMUS ... NOSTRAE: RB c.19.

W: *Consideremus qualiter in conspectu divinitatis et sanctorum angelorum esse oporteat, et sic stemus ad psallendum, ut mens nostra concordet voci nostrae.*

A: *Ergo consideremus, qualiter oporteat in conspectu divinitatis et angelorum eius esse et sic stemus ad psallendum, ut mens nostra concordet voci nostre.*

For comments on Walahfrid's quotations from the RB see comments on cc.11:486.5-6, 12:486.11.

486.16-17 QUI ... PUNIVIT: See I Sm 2.12-17, 22-34.

486.17-30 ANNAM ... PUGNANT: Praying aloud had caused problems throughout the early middle ages. Caesarius of Arles admonishes his congregation in *Sermon 72* in much the same way that Walahfrid attacks the problem, using the same Biblical reference to Anna:

Above all, dearly beloved, as often as we apply ourselves to prayer we should pray in silence and quiet. If a man wants to pray aloud he seems to take the fruit of prayer away from those who are standing near him. Only moans and sighs and groans should be heard. For our prayer ought to be like that of holy Anna the mother of blessed Samuel, of whom it is written that 'She prayed, shedding many tears, and only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard at all' (I Sm 1.10, 13; trans. M.M. Mueller [1965], 338-340).

487.1-3 LEGE ... DULCEDINE: See Augustine's *Confessiones* Book 10.33 (CCSL 27, ed. L. Verheijen, 181-2). Walahfrid had access to the text in both St. Gallen and Reichenau libraries (MBDS I, 84 and 245).

Here is a personal comment about a contemporary problem whose roots are firmly entrenched in the earliest practicalities of Christian living. How does one maintain the precarious balance between the worship of God and the use of those things which turn the mind of the Christian to Him? Walahfrid has already addressed in c.8 the difficulties posed by pictures and images in churches. Augustine's account is a particularly sensitive description of this dilemma, the ease with which the listener can be entranced by the singer and melody instead of worshipping God.

Of necessity training and choosing cantors who perform that very function seem not to take into account the very real quandary of the devout listener. The 816 Council at Aachen, c.137 *De cantoribus*, is quite specific in its recommendations concerning the cantors' performance: '... Cantors must be distinguished and illustrious in voice and skill, so that the delights of sweetness may inspire the souls of the listeners ...' (*Cantorem autem, ... et voce et arte praeclarum inlustremque esse oportet, ita ut oblectamenta dulcedinis animos incitent audientium*). On the other hand, they must also conform with Walahfrid's concern that 'although every sort of divine praise performed appropriately should be commended, it should be said that what has the least amount of vanity and boasting is the more acceptable (*cumque omne genus laudationis divinae secundum rationem exhibitae sit laudandum, illud probabilius est dicendum, quod habuerit vanitatis et iactantiae minimum* c.12:486.39-487.1): c.137 reads, 'Cantors are to study with the greatest effort lest they besmirch with blemishes the gift from heaven given to them; but rather may they adorn it with humility, chastity and sobriety and the rest of the adornments of the holy virtues ...' (*Studendum summopere cantoribus est, ne donum sibi divinitus conlatum vitiis fedent, sed potius illud humilitate, castitate et sobriaetate et caeteris sanctarum virtutum ornamentis exornent*) (MGH Conc. II, 414).

487.3 CANTILENARUM: Walahfrid's use of *cantilenae* here is a specific reference to the melodies of the chants for the Psalter: see Augustine, *Confessiones* Book 10.33 *Aliquando autem hanc ipsam fallaciam immoderatus cavens erro nimia severitate, sed valde interdum, ut melos omnes cantilenarum suavius, quibus Daviticum psalterium frequentatur, ab auribus meis removeri velim atque ipsius ecclesiae, tutiusque mihi videtur* (CCSL 27, ed. L. Verheijen, 181-2). See commentary c.23:496.22 for the historical context and more general and varied use of *cantilena*.

CHAPTER 13

Walahfrid continues a long tradition of Christian historical writing which sees the design of God in history. See the Introduction, p.33. His brief reference to the benefits reaped by those who are humble and fear God is expanded in c.17. Other than the one reference to Josephus, his citations and references are entirely Biblical, and are used to reinforce and support his theme that God-fearing men enjoy His protection, those who turn away from Him do not.

Note that c.2 is preparatory material for this chapter.

487.12 **TEMPLUM ... PROFANATUM:** Cp. c.9:484.24-25: ... *secundo vel tercio post eversionem et profanationem eiusdem templi propter peccata populi a gentibus perpetrata* ...

487.18 **ANGELORUM CUSTODIAM:** the single reference to guardian angels in *De exordiis*, but see also commentary c.10:485.8 *angelorum*. They are a crucial element in blessings over water which is to be used for aspersing homes: *Ad consparsum faciendum: Exaudi nos, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, et mittere dignare angelum tuum sanctum de caelis, qui custodiat, foveat, protegat, visitet, et defendat omnes habitantes in hanc habitaculum famuli tui 'Illius'* ... (GeS [ed. Wilson], p.286; see also GrS III, no. 4271). For a brief account with references see ODCC, s.v. GUARDIAN ANGELS, 606; note that Walahfrid follows St. Jerome and St. Basil in stating that sin drives guardian angels away.

487.18 **SANCTORUM CURAM:** Cp. c.8:483.16-26 *Ergo ... invocamus*, where Walahfrid outlines the relationship between the saints and the living.

487.22-24 **SCRIBIT ... SEDIBUS:** Josephus, *The Jewish Wars*, Book VI.v.3 (ed. Cornfeld [1982], 427).

488.4 INIQUITAS ... LIBERAVIT: I have been unable to find a source for this statement.

CHAPTER 14

In this chapter, one of several which could be used as short sermons, Walahfrid is concerned with the motives behind making offerings to the Lord, particularly the construction and ornamentation of sacred buildings. His most original passage develops the imagery of moral excellence (*virtutes*), that invisible yet essential quality of the people of God. Cp his use in cc.2:476.25 where the meaning is the same, and 23:501.1 *caelestium virtutum* = *the heavenly hosts*. Benedict defines *discretio* as *mater virtutum* (RB c.64). Note the distinction in meaning between *virtutes* and *virtus*, best translated as 'virtue'. For *virtus* see the title of c.18 and 491.1; c.21:494.2; c.23:500.21; c.26:507.16.

488.5 POSTREMO: signals that this chapter completes this section of *De exordiis*.

488.5-14 POSTREMO ... PRAECEPTORI: Walahfrid's *Vita Sancti Galli* includes an example of an offering made from stolen goods and its consequences:

When a certain poor little man, residing next to the royal property which is called Rottweil, wished to go to a [dependent] cell of [the church at] St. Gallen and had nothing which he could carry there as an indication of his devotion, he agreed to the urging of the devil: he broke into the courtyard of a certain wealthy man, and stealthily carrying off a beehive with its honey and bees, he entered his own house. Next, after the bees died, he made a wax figure. Not long afterwards in the midst of neighbours and friends he proceeded to the church of the venerable Gall with this stolen offering. And when each individual had offered what he had brought, he, who wished contrary to divine law to present a votive offering [procured] from robbery, found his wax figure changed into the rigidity of hardest stone. And so, overcome by enormous fear, the man confessed his crime to one of those who had come with him. Thereafter, when that person told the custodians of the church the things which had happened, the report of this miracle became known to all with amazing swiftness.

Pauperculus quidam iuxta regiam possessionem quae Rotunwila dicitur commanens, dum ad cellulam sancti Galli pergere

voluisset nec haberet aliquid, quod ob devotionis indicium illuc deferre potuisset, diabolo suadenti consentiens, atrium cuiusdam divitis irrupit, et alvear cum melle et apibus furtim auferens, intulit domui suae. Apibus deinde extinctis, ceram confecit et non multo post inter vicinos et amicos cum hoc furtivo munere ad ecclesiam venerabilis Galli perrexit. Cumque singuli quod attulerant optulissent, is qui contra fas offerre voluit de rapina donarium ceram reperit in lapidis durissimi rigorem mutatam. Ingenti itaque timore perculus unum eorum qui secum venerant reatum suum confessus est. Qui deinde, dum custodibus ecclesiae, quae facta fuerant, indicaret, fama huius miraculi mira celeritate cunctis innotuit (MGH SS rer Merov IV, 317-8).

The account according to the *Vita vetustissima* ends with the following statement: *Ipse lapis usque in hodiernum diem in ipsa ecclesia perspicue videtur*: the image of stone is clearly seen up to the present time in that church (*ibid.*, 256). This conclusion was retained by Wetti (*ibid.*, 280), but omitted by Walahfrid: perhaps the stone image was no longer in the church; or, does its omission show his disapproval of keeping an offering made from stolen goods?

488.7-8 QUI ... PATREM: Note similarity to Sir 34.20:

V = Vulgate

W: *Qui offert victimam de rapina pauperis, quasi qui mactet filium ante patrem*

V: *Qui offert sacrificium ex substantia pauperum, quasi qui victimat filium in conspectu patris.*

488.9-10 HONORA ... LABORIBUS: Note similarity to Prv 3.9:

W: *Honora Dominum de tuis iustis laboribus*

V: *Honora Dominum de tua substantia et de primitiis omnium frugum tuarum*

488.17-18 QUAE ... VERITATEM: Note similarity to Mt 23.23:

W: *et quae graviora sunt legis praeteritis, misericordiam, iudicium et veritatem*

V: *reliquistis quae graviora sunt legis iudicium et misericordiam et fidem.*

The three passages listed here (488.7-8, 9-10, and 17-18) seem to be liturgical versions of Biblical texts. They do not appear to be listed, however, in J. Hesbert, *Invitatoria et antiphonae*, or *Responsoria, versus, hymni et varia*, vols. 3 and 4 of his *Corpus antiphonalium officii*.

488.15-16 NONNE ... QUIESCE: Gn 4.7ff *Vetus Latina*. For his use of the *Vetus Latina* here and elsewhere in *De exordiis* see the Introduction, 38¹⁰⁴

488.16-17 VAE ... HOLUS: Note Walahfrid's deviation from the Vulgate: *vae vobis Pharisaeis quia ...* (Lc 11.42).

488.20-22 HIERONIMUS ... TORQUERI: Cp. Jerome's letter to Pacatula, a little girl: *Auro parietes, auro laquearia, auro fulgent capita columnarum, et nudus atque esuriens ante fores nostras in paupere Christus moritur* (*Epistola* 128, ed. J. Labourt [1961], 153).

488.25-27 HAEC ... MERCEDIS: Walahfrid is commenting on Hbr 9.

488.27-30 LEGITUR ... CURAVIT: Bede writes about Gregory in the same context (*Opera*, ed. Plummer [1896], 77):

Let these things be said about his imperishable genius which even so great a suffering of his body could not impair: for while other popes gave all their labour to the building and ornamenting of churches with gold and silver, Gregory's sole concern was to save souls (trans. P. Meyvaert [1964], 6).

Haec quidem de immortalis eius sint dicta ingenio, quod nec tanto corporis potuit dolore restringi. Nam alii quidam pontifices construendis ornandisque auro vel argento ecclesiis operam dabant, hic autem totus erga animarum lucra vacabat.

Using this passage to exemplify Bede's special relationship to Gregory, P. Meyvaert notes, however, that the LP records gifts which Gregory presented to St. Peter's (Meyvaert [1964], 6; LP I, 312). Did Walahfrid use Bede or the LP for his source? Although he cited the LP for Gregory's contribution to the preface of the canon in c.23, his first citation from the LP only occurs in c.19. The meticulousness with which Walahfrid refers to his sources seems to indicate that here Bede's *HE* and not the LP was the text at hand.

488.30 IN EXTERIS PROVINTIIS: Gregory was instrumental not only in the well-known conversion of England (LP I, 312), but also strengthened the Church in Spain, Gaul and N. Italy; see ODCC s.v. GREGORY I, St., 594, with literature.

COMMENTARY CHAPTER 15

It is of particular interest that Walahfrid's vocabulary and comments on the sacrament of the Eucharist in this chapter and the next three are so strongly linked that cc.15-18 can be considered as a single unit. Amalarius does not develop the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrament, but Rhabanus Maurus includes one long chapter, *De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini* in *De cler. inst.*, I.31 (PL 107, cols.107, 316-321), written in 819 and most certainly read by Walahfrid while a student at Fulda (827-29). On two occasions during the Fulda years Walahfrid took a text written (or perhaps a lecture given) by Rhabanus, then his teacher, and summarized and abridged it. *Sic homo consisti, sic corporis illius artus / Expositos Mauro Strabus monstrante tenebo* (eds. E. Schroeder and G. Roethe [1920]) was Walahfrid's first effort; the second work, *Epitome commentariorum Rabani in Leviticum* (PL 114, cols.795-850), was a reworking of Rhabanus's commentary on Leviticus. For more on these two early texts of Walahfrid see K. Langosch (1954), cols.739-743.

This evidence for Walahfrid's involvement with Rhabanus's texts underscores the possibility that *De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini* could have been the source for these chapters on the Eucharistic sacrament. Noted in the commentary are many striking similarities between Rhabanus's chapter on the Eucharistic sacraments and Walahfrid's cc.15-18. Of greater interest are the differences between the two texts: Walahfrid rearranges Rhabanus's subject matter, omits areas Rhabanus had covered, uses different Biblical references and rephrases the text in an original and creative way. Thus, Walahfrid presents his material throughout this unit in a historical perspective: and although he includes some theological and typological interpretation, this is clearly not his main interest.

489.14-15 HAEC ... SUFFICIAT: Walahfrid returns briefly to rhetoric as he changes theme. He uses the topos of affected modesty (see

commentary on Prose Preface:475.19) which, of course, emphasizes his extensive knowledge.

489.16-23 ABEL ... LEGUNTUR: Here is a good example of Walahfrid's historical perspective on the Eucharistic sacrament. Rhabanus's only OT references, Melchizedek (*De cler. inst.* I.31 (PL 107, col.317C); and Noah (*De cler. inst.* I.31 [PL 107, col.320D]) clarify the meaning of the sacrament; cp. also *De exordiis* c.17).

489.22 IN ODOREM SUAVITATIS: Cp. the Council of Braga II, c.55: *Non oportet aliquid aliud in sanctuario offerre praeter panem et vinum et aquam, quae in typo Christi benedicuntur, quia dum in cruce penderet de corpore eius sanguis efluxit et aqua. Haec tria unum sunt in Christo Iesu, haec hostia et oblatio Dei in odorem suavitatis* (CVH, 100).

489.25 CARNES ET SANGUIS and 27-29 CARNEM ET SANGUINEM: In this chapter are Walahfrid's first references to the components of the sacrament of the Eucharist; cp. 16:489.39.

489.26 UMBRIS: See 489.27.

489.27 PRAEFIGURAVERT and 489.30 PRAESIGNATA: Both words were first used to explain the prefiguring of the NT by the OT by such early Christian writers as Cyprian (d.258) and Lactantius (c.240xc.320). Although the words were common in Carolingian exegetical writings, it is noteworthy that Walahfrid only uses both words twice, here and in 27:508.35,36. *Praenuntiare* occurs twice (15:489.29 and 17:490.10), and *figura* twice in an allegorical context in cc.1 and 17. (Note the different meaning of *figura* in 27:508.36). The remaining allegorical vocabulary is *typum* 7:481.10; *umbra* 15:489.26, 17:490.35, and 19:491.36; *imaginariis* 15:489.30; *imaginibus* 17:490.35; *tenebris* 23:497.2. The paucity of typological expressions in *De exordiis* emphasizes the historical perspective of the book.

489.29 PRAENUNCIATA and 489.30 IMAGINARIIS: See commentary 489.27.

489.31 INLUCESCENTE: Note Walahfrid's poetic imagery; cp. *inluxit* 17:490.21.

CHAPTER 16

This chapter contains the first hint of Walahfrid's awareness of the 9th-c. eucharistic controversy which was begun in 831 by Paschasius Radbertus in *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, and the response to it in a work of the same title by Ratramnus. Until the Carolingian period the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine of the sacrament, based on Christ's words in Scripture (Io 6.32-58; Mt 26.26-8; Mk 14.22-4; Lk 22.17-20) was taken for granted. However, as a result of the upsurge of intellectual activity at the end of the 8th, beginning of the 9th c., accepted ecclesiastical practices came under scrutiny. The controversy on the nature of the Eucharistic Presence raised doubts as to the identity of Christ's Eucharistic Body with His Body in heaven. Is the sacrament of the Eucharist a symbol or a reality or both? The definition of words and interpretation of the Fathers allowed scope for a diversity of opinion which culminated in the Eucharistic controversies of the 11th-13th c. and ultimately in those of the Reformation; for an excellent brief account with references see N. Häring (1967), 618-20.

It is reading too much into cc.16-18 to see them as responses to the controversy, but perhaps Walahfrid's definitive statements about the sacrament point to his awareness of it.

489.39 PASCHAE: *Pascha* has several meanings (see Blaise s.v.), but Walahfrid restricts its meaning to the Passover of the OT (here, cc.20 and 23:496.28) and Easter in all other instances in *De exordiis*. For a slightly different Biblical use see c.19:492.5.

489.39 CORPORIS ET SANGUINIS: Walahfrid's first use of this phrase, regularly used in NT accounts of the institution of the sacrament. Jesus used the term *caro* in Io 6.52-57, an expository passage

looking back to the OT, but not at the institution of the Eucharist (Mt 26.26-8, Mk 14.22-4, Lk 22.17-20); cp. c.15:489.25.

489.39 SUBSTANTIA: A term from the Creed, *substantia* is a clue to Walahfrid's view of the sacrament. His only other use of the word is in reference to the Holy Trinity, c.27:511.11 .

489.41-490.1 NIHIL ... COMPLETUR: Cp. Rhabanus, *De cler. inst.*, I.31 (PL 107, col.320C).

489.43 COAGULO: *Coagulus* is a technical term for a process that causes substances to form a more or less solid state. Here it is used unusually in the context of the Eucharist; MLWB gives it no other place.

490.1 CORPUS ... COMPLETUR: Cp. Rhabanus, *De cler. inst.*, I.31 (PL 107, cols.317D, 318A).

490.1-6 UNDE ... SALVARI: Walahfrid follows a long tradition of this symbolism. Cyprian (d.258) wrote the most influential argument, cited by Rabanus, *De cler. inst.*, I.31 (PL 107, col.320B). J. Jungmann discusses the variety of interpretations in *The Mass of the Roman Rite* (Jungmann [1955], 38-40).

490.2 A PRIORIBUS: Cp. Cyprian, *Ep. 63 ad Caecilium* (ed. G. Hartel, 701-717, esp. 711, xiii). General works of Cyprian are listed in the St. Gallen library catalogue (MBDS I, 81). See also Rhabanus, *De cler. inst.*, I.31 (PL 107, col.320B).

490.4-6 ERGO NEC ... SALVARI: Note similarity to Rhabanus: *...Christum sine nostrae redemptionis amore potuisse pati, vel nos sine illius passione salvari...*(*De cler. inst.*, I.31 [PL 107, col.320C]).

CHAPTER 17

The chapters in this unit, cc.15-18, could all have been used as short sermons, but c.17 is particularly appropriate for an instructive and inspirational address. With the exception of 3 Biblical references, note the absence of references to 'sources'.

490.7-15 QUIA ... TRADIDIT: Cp. Rhabanus, *De cler. inst.*, I.31 (PL 107, cols.317C, 321A).

490.8,26,29 RATIONE: This chapter is an excellent example of Walahfrid's sophistication as a Latinist, demonstrated in the three occurrences of *ratio*, all slightly different in meaning yet stemming from the original *reor*, *ratus* = to reckon, to calculate. The English translation strives to catch Walahfrid's subtleties.

490.8 FIGURARUM and 490.10 PRAENUNTIASSE: See commentary c.15:489.27.

490.12 ANTE ... CEREMONIAS: The account of the mysterious priest-king is in Gn 14.17-20. The sign of circumcision was given to Abraham in Gn 17.10-14. Like the rainbow of Gn 9.16-17 it is to remind God of His Covenant and man of his obligations under it. The ceremonials of the law were given to Moses in Ex 19-23. Note that this is Walahfrid's only use of *ceremonia* in *De exordiis*.

490.13 LEGITUR: Cp. Hbr 6.20, 7.1-17.

490.14 IUSTUS ET IUSTIFICANS EUM and 16 IUSTIFICARI PER FIDEM: Note Walahfrid's theological terminology. The only other use of *iustificare* is c.27:512.1; see commentary. Note also the use of *iustitia* in cc.13:487.36, 488.4; 20:492.37; 23:499.33.

490.15-17 NE ... FIDEM: Cp. Hbr 11, justification by faith rather than by works. But in practice Walahfrid sees the importance of works: cc.9, 12, 14, 15, 22, and 28.

490.21 INLUXIT: Cp. commentary c.15:489.31 *inluscente*.

490.26-30 NON EST ... DISPONAT: Cp. Is 55.8,9; Rom 9.14-21.

490.26 DISCUTIENDUM: The meaning to investigate, literally to separate mentally, is a post-classical use of *discutere*, to shatter. There are no examples in the literary language of the classical period (L&S), but it is common in Patristic writings; see Blaise s.v. *discutere*.

490.30-36 NOTANDUM ... TRANSEUNDUM: I have been unable to find a source for this passage; it could be an expression of Walahfrid's convictions.

490.32 ANGELIS: See Hbr 1-2, esp.1.4-7.

490.35 UMBRA and IMAGINIBUS: For the place of allegorical vocabulary in *De exordiis* see commentary c.15:489.27.

CHAPTER 18

After another brief reference to the sacrament's being 'truly' the body and blood of the Lord, Walahfrid raises the serious issue of abuse of the sacrament of the Eucharist, avoiding the polemics of its terminology.

DE VIRTUTE SACRAMENTORUM: Cp. this phrase from Walahfrid's chapter title with Rhabanus, *De cler. inst.*, I.31 (PL 107, cols.317D-318A).

490.37-491.1 IGITUR ... DICUNTUR: Walahfrid's ambiguous definition of *sacramentum* could also mean: 'they are called *sacramenta* from *sanctificatione*, or else *secreta* from their power.' It stems, however, from Isidore: *Sunt autem sacramenta baptismum et chrisma, corpus et sanguis. Quae ob id sacramenta dicuntur, quia sub tegumento corporalium rerum virtus divina secretius salutem eorundem sacramentorum operatur; unde et a secretis virtutibus vel a sacris sacramenta dicuntur* (*Etym.* VI.xix.39-40) or from Rhabanus who quotes Isidore in *De sacramentis Ecclesiae*, (*De cler. inst.*, I.24 [PL 107, col.309D]). See also commentary on *sacramentum* in the prose preface:475.9.

Note Isidore's use of *pignus* (cp. 18:490.40 *pignora*) in his etymology of *sacramentum* in *De instrumentis legalibus*: *sacramentum est pignus sponsionis; vocatum autem sacramentum, quia violare quod quisque promittit perfidiae est* (*Etym.*, V.xxiv.31).

491.1-3 CRIMINUM ... IUDITIO: Cp. Rhabanus, *De cler. inst.*, I.31 (PL 107, col.321B).

491.2-3 ECCLESIASTICO ... IUDITIO: Cp. 511 Council of Orléans, c.1 (CCSL 148 A, 4) and 300-(?)306 Council of Elvira, c.53 (CVH, 11). For the text of Council of Elvira, see below: 491.7-9.

491.5 MEDICO: Walahfrid continues a patristic tradition which saw Christ as the Physician, the Healer, the *medicus*, and the Eucharist as the *medicina*, or *medicamentum*. Cp. *medicinam* 491.4, *medicamentum* 491.15, *medicina* 20:493.8, *medicina* 21:494.1, *medicamina* 494.6, *medicamenta* 23:499.38, *medicamentum* 500.33. Note that priests are *spiritalis medici* 21:494.4. According to G. Dumeige, *Christus medicus* is a subject which is in need of a new evaluation (1980), 891-901; but meanwhile see R. Arbesmann (1954), 1-28, and other literature (to 1973) listed by Dumeige.

491.7-9 SCIENDUM ... INVOLVANTUR: 300-(?)306 Council of Elvira, c.53: *Placuit cunctis ut ab eo episcopo quis recipiat communionem, a quo abstentus in crimine aliquo quis fuerit, quod si alius episcopus praesumerit eum admitti, illo adhuc minime faciente vel consentiente a quo fuerit communionem privatus, sciat se huiusmodi causas inter fratres esse cum status sui periculo praestaturum* (CVH, 11).

491.9-11 IUDAS ... EFFECTU: Cp. Rhabanus, *De cler. inst.*, I.31 (PL 107, col.319D).

491.13-16 ET ... INHIARE: Cp. Rhabanus, *De cler. inst.*, I.31 (PL 107, col.321C).

CHAPTER 19

Now Walahfrid turns from the Eucharistic sacraments in general to the offertory of the Mass. He presents both historical diversity and ecclesiastical rulings on various aberrations of the offertory. Note particularly his account of the consecration of the meat of a lamb at the Easter Mass, a contemporary practice which has been given little attention by modern liturgists. For an account of another disturbing

offertory practice to which Walahfrid brings the pastor's perspective rather than the historian's see c.23:500.19-36.

Chapter 19 contains Walahfrid's first use of the *Liber Pontificalis*. In the 9th c. the LP, a chronological collection of loosely biographical accounts of early Popes, was considered a reliable historical source for the origins of a range of liturgical practices. In fact, Duchesne's critical editions of the LP (2 vols. [1886-92], reissued with a further volume of additions and corrections by C. Vogel, [1955-57]) demonstrates that the accounts of the earliest Popes, up to the 4th c., were written in the early 6th c., partly to justify existing liturgical conventions. The accounts of Popes from Boniface II to Leo III (530-816) are strictly contemporary and accurate, although limited in scope. For an excellent recent assessment of the LP, see T. Noble (1985), 347-359; R. Davis has presented the most recent translation with an introduction (1989). The LP is Walahfrid's second most important single source for liturgical history (35 references in 10 of the next 14 chapters); ecclesiastical councils are his most frequently used source.

491.20 CANONIBUS ... APOSTOLORUM: See also c.27:509.36-510.1 and 511.2-3. The *Canones apostolorum*, a series of 85 canons attributed to the Apostles, form the concluding chapter, c.8, of the Apostolic Constitutions, a collection of late 4th-c. ecclesiastical law. Walahfrid would have used the 6th-c. Latin translation of the Greek text by Dionysius Exiguus: see the Introduction, 41. For an excellent brief account see ODCC s.v. APOSTOLIC CANONS, 75 with bibliography; see also ODCC s.v. APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, 75.

Walahfrid's two quotations from the *Canones apostolorum*, of course, do not allow any conclusions to be made about his MS source. However, since only two insignificant differences occur between Turner's edition of the *Canones* and Walahfrid's text as edited by Krause, (both of them in

c.III [Turner (1899), 9], none in c.IV [Turner (1899), 10]), it is worthwhile noting that one of Turner's MS was St. Gallen MS 682 (Turner [1899], xii), which may have been available to Walahfrid.

491.26 THIMIAMA: This is strictly an OT word for 'incense'; *incensa* is an alternative OT word, with 5 occurrences in the NT (NCBS).

491.28-30 EUTICIANUS ... EST: Note that Walahfrid's interpretation of the LP ruling differs from Duchesne (LP I, 159¹), who argues that beans were offered because they were long considered a sacred food in Italy. It is not clear why, in Walahfrid's view, food eaten by those who were fasting (beans) was an acceptable substitute for bread.

491.30 ABSTINENTIUM: The only time Walahfrid uses *abstinens* to mean those who are fasting. See the introduction to commentary on c.20 (pp. 198-9) for a comprehensive examination of fasting. Note that in c.21:494.5 *abstinere* means to abstain from the bread and wine of the Eucharist.

491.31 STATUTUM EST: Cp. e.g., 393 synod of Hippo, c.23 (CCL 199, 39); 585 Council of Maçon, c.4 (CCL 148 A, 240); Hincmar of Reims (c.806-882), 852 Capitula I, c.16 (PL 125, cols.777f.); Regino of Prüm, *De ecclesiasticis disciplinis, libri duo*, lib.I (PL 132, cols.190C, 204B).

491.31-37 ALIAS ... PERSPICUAM: Here is important evidence for the 9th-c. distinction between the offering of bread and wine at the altar for the sacrament of the Eucharist and the bringing of other objects in the offertory procession. See also J. Jungmann's account of the practices and resulting problems (Jungmann [1955], 1-15, esp. 10 and [n.51], and 15 and [n.76]).

491.36 UMBRARUM: See commentary c.15:489.27.

491.37-492.3 UNDE ... HABETUR: This rite is prescribed in several continental liturgical books of the 8-9th c.: the Bobbio Missal no.559 (ed. E.A. Lowe, 170); the Sacramentary of Angoulême no.770 (P. Saint-Roch, CCSL 159 C, 117); the Sacramentary of Gellone, (A. Dumas and J.

Deshusses, CCSL 159-159 A, 447); the Sacramentary of Autun (Phillips 1667) (O. Heiming, CCSL 159 B, 256); the Visigothic Liturgy: *Liber Ordinum* (5-11th c.): (ed. M. Férotin, 224-25). However, the practice has received little attention from modern liturgists: but see exceptionally J. Jungmann, who simply notes Walahfrid's criticism (Jungmann [1955], 260⁷) and J. Chydenius, who comments more fully on the offering of the lamb at Easter being introduced as a direct OT analogy (Chydenius [1965], 42-4). Walahfrid's objection was that the benediction was said at the altar in immediate connection with the Mass.

491.39 IAM ... CONPRESSUS EST: I have been unable to find any reference to this activity.

491.41 RADICITUS EST AMPUTANDUM: Cp. RB c.55: *radicitus amputetur*.

491.41 ILLUM DICO ERROREM: Cp. c.23:497.18-498.12.

492.1 IUXTA ... CONSECRABANT: This blessing is inserted just before *Per quem haec omnia*, the most solemn moment of the Mass.

492.5 PASCHA: Here, Christ crucified is the pasch, the Passover, i.e. the Passover Lamb.

CHAPTER 20

In this didactic chapter Walahfrid presents a concise history of the development and diversity of fasting before communion, and includes both literal and pastoral interpretations. However, like liturgical historians today he is unable to provide a source for the practice before the ruling of 'the African Council' in the late 4th c. He omits any reference to Augustine who believed the Eucharistic fast dated back to Apostolic times (the c.400 *Ep* 54, *ad Januarium*), although it should be noted that Walahfrid suggests a NT precedent in his comment on Act 2 46-7 (c.21:495.25).

Amalarius mentioned fasting only in passing (see OLO III, Index); Rhabanus Maurus included nine chapters on the arrangement of fast days,

but did not discuss the Eucharistic fast, *De cler. instit.* II.17-25 (PL 107, cols.333-38). Walahfrid's references to ascetic fasting on fast days are in cc.19, 21, 24 and 29.

In the pre-Carolingian era, the complexities of the Eucharistic fast and of fast days were important issues in writings of the Fathers and in ecclesiastical councils. The distinction between the two is crucial, but not self-evident in the sources. Each type of fasting had a different purpose; their development varied. The Eucharistic fast was designed to do honour to the Eucharistic gifts; fast days themselves were seen as a form of asceticism. For a historical survey of the dietary aspects of the practice of fasting from the time of the early church to the high Middle Ages see C. Bynum (1987), 31-69, esp. 31-40, 48-50; for the origins of the Eucharistic fast see J. Frochisse (1932), 594-609; A.M. Carr (1967), 847; ODCC s.v. EUCHARISTIC FAST, 477; SOL 405-416 *passim*.

492.8-9 CONCILII AFRICANI: A council was held at Carthage in 397 to compile an epitome of the Hippo canons of 393, which dealt with clerical and liturgical matters. For an excellent summary of these occasions, see F.L. Cross (1960), 227-247, esp. 229-33.

492.12 LEGALIS PASCHAE and 33 LEGALE PASCHA:: For controversy surrounding the actual day of the *legale pascha* on which the Lord's Supper took place, see, for example, JB: Mt 26.17^d; ODCC s.v. LAST SUPPER, 801 with bibliography.

492.16 SOCRATES: Walahfrid is quoting from Cassiodorus's 6th-c. Latin translation of a church history written in Greek by Socrates (c.380x450), Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus (c.393xc.466) and Sozomen (early 5th c.), thereby subsequently entitled *Historica ecclesiastica tripartita* (ed. R. Hanslik). The text is included in the St. Gallen library list as *Cassiodori Senatoris ecclesiasticae historiae de tribus*

auctoribus and in the Reichenau list as *Tripartitae II* (MBDS I, 76 and 265). See also c.26:505.33.

492.18-26 SED ETIAM ... HABENT: *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, lib.IX.xxxviii.22-23, 28 (ed. R. Hanslik [1952], 562-3: *quaedam* / *quadam* (562, 1.121) no apparatus, *vesperam* / *vespera* (562, 1.125) *vesperam* C, where C = Leningrad F.v.I 11). See also commentary on c.26:505.23-33.

492.19 COLLECTARUM: This is the first occurrence of *collecta*, a word with a complexity of meanings. But since this is within a quotation from Cassiodorus, see commentary on Walahfrid's first independent use of the word in c.21:493.34.

492.20 DIE SABBATORUM: In *De exordiis* Walahfrid never uses this phrase for *Saturday*; he consistently uses *sabbatum*.

For an excellent short summary of the diversity of celebrating Mass on Saturdays and Sundays in the early Church, see SOL, 406 with important references.

492.30-32 A SEQUENTIBUS ... CELEBRENTUR: 572 Council of Braga (II), c.10:

Placuit ut quia per stultitiam praesumpti nuper erroris aut certe ex veteris Priscillianae adhuc haeresis foetore corruptos cognovimus quosdam praesbyteros in huius praesumptionis audaciam retineri, ut in missa mortuorum etiam post acceptum merum oblationem ausi sunt consecrare, ideo hoc praefixae evidentis sententiae admonitione servetur, ut si quis presbyter post hoc edictum nostrum amplius in hac vesania fuerit reprehensus, id est ut nec ieiunum, sed quoquumque iam cibo praesumpto, oblationem consecraverit in altare, continuo ab officio suo privatus a proprio deponatur episcopo (CVH, 84).

585 Council of Maçon, c.6:

Item decernimus, ut nullus presbiterorum confertus cibo aut crapulatus vino sacrificia contrectare aut missas pribatis festisque diebus praesumat concelebrare; iniustum est enim, ut spiritali alimento corporale praeponatur. Sed si quis hoc adtemptare curaverit, dignitatem amittat honouris. Iam enim de tali causa et in conciliis Africanis definitum est, quam definitionem nostre quoque dignum duximus sotiare; cetera et ad locum: Sacramenta excepta quinta feria pasche non nisi a ieiunis concelebrentur. Quaecumque reliquiae sacrificiorum post peractam missa in sacrario supersederint, quarta vel sexta feria innocentes ab illo, cuius interest, ad ecclesiam

adducantur et indictum eis ieiunio easdem reliquias conspersas vino accipiant (CCSL 148A, 241).

561-605 Council of Auxerre, c.19:

Non licet presbytero aut diacono aut subdiacono post accepto cibo vel poculo missas tractare aut in ecclesia, dum missae dicuntur, stare (CCSL 148 A, 267).

493.1-3 EDICTA ...ABSCIDITUR: 561 Council of Braga (I), c.16:

Si quis quinta feria paschali, quae vocatur Coena Domini, hora legitima post nonam ieiunus in ecclesia missas non tenet sed secundum sectam Priscilliani festivitatem ipsius diei ab hora tertia per missas defunctorum soluto ieiunio colet, anathema sit (CVH, 69).

493.13 VESTRA: This is an addition to the Vulgate text.

493.14-20 QUAE ... CAPIAMUS: Walahfrid is at his best: a straightforward and practical interpretation of fasting before the Eucharist.

493.18-20 SECUNDUM ... CAPIAMUS: Cp. *The Apostolic Tradition* which underlines the protection afforded by taking the Eucharist before other foods, rather than, as here, the *consolatio* (B. Botte [1984], 118-9).

CHAPTER 21

According to the opening sentence of this chapter, chapters 16-20 have been primarily concerned with the nature of the sacraments of the Eucharist. He continues here with the history of their use and begins a group of chapters, cc.21-25, centred on aspects of the Mass. Note that these chapters (in addition to cc.28-30) were copied as a group in three extant MSS: Bamberg A. II, 53, Ashburnham Barrois 246, and Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. Clm. 14581: for dating see the Prefatory Notes, viii.

The development of receiving daily communion also concerned Walahfrid's predecessors, e.g., Augustine (*Ep.* 54, *ad Januarium*, 2, 2; 228, 6; *In Joh. tract.*, 26,15; *De civ. Dei*, X, 20), Bede (*Ep. ad Ecgbertum*, 15) and Théodulf (*Capitula I*, c.39 [MGH *Capit. episc.* I, 137]). Walahfrid continues the tradition and makes a strong and well-supported argument

for the daily reception of the sacraments. Studies of modern scholars have been based essentially on the same sources as Walahfrid's (J. Jungman [1955], 359-366 with exceptionally full references; W. Rordorf [1980/81], 1-19; CAP II, 239).

Although the introductory remarks of this chapter are couched in the rhetoric usually reserved for a topos, he makes an original statement on his use of sources.

493.33 IEIUNIUM: Here and in subsequent occurrences in this chapter, as well as in cc.24 and 29, Walahfrid is concerned with the history of the nature of fast days, on which fasting meant entire abstention from food, or some kinds of food, for the whole or part of the fast day as opposed to fasting before communion (see c.20): see ODCC s.v. *Fasts and Fasting*, 503 with bibliography; NCE v, 847-50 s.v. '*Fast and Abstinence*' with references; for references to Amalarius and Rhabanus see commentary c.20. This ascetic practice was a complex and diverse one, and a part of medieval monastic and ecclesiastical life, although not of great concern to Walahfrid in *De exordiis*.

493.34 FESTIS: This is the first occurrence in *De exordiis* of *festum*, which along with *festiva* and *festivitas* means feast day, a day other than Sunday on which Mass is celebrated to commemorate an important event in the life of Christ or His saints. Walahfrid distinguishes between *festa* and *solemnitates*, liturgical services (ceremonies) which include the celebration of Mass; see esp. cc.20, 22, 23, 24 and 26.

493.34 ACTITARE: The only occurrence of this word in *De exordiis*. The meaning is precise in this context: to act or be employed in, often or much (only of judicial or dramatic action) (L&S).

493.34 COLLECTAS EXPLEBANT: *Collecta* has long been the subject of analysis and controversy because of its diversity and complexity of meaning (the following citation of references is unusually long since an ade-

quate collection is not yet available): cp. e.g., Ducange s.v.; L. Duchesne (1919), 167, 201; F. Cabrol (1925), 37-9; B. Capelle (1930), 197-204; J. Jungmann (1951), 173, 672; G. Willis (1968), 103-21; for the most recent and accurate summaries see SOL 183; CAP I, 158-9; CAP II, 52-53, 479.

Walahfrid uses *collecta* in *De exordiis* with two distinct and separate meanings: 1) a service of the faithful sometimes with the Eucharist and sometimes without (in cc.20, 21 and 26) and 2) a particular kind of prayer (in c.23). Within the context of this text it is possible to make some observations about Walahfrid's first meaning, in this chapter and in quotations from Socrates's *Historia Ecclesiastica* in cc.20 and 26. For the second meaning, *collecta* as 'prayer', see commentary 23:498.13-25.

In this chapter Walahfrid begins the history of daily communion. Starting with the Fathers' accounts of once-yearly communion, one custom was to celebrate Mass only on Maundy Thursday. On that day they cancelled fasting and *collectas explebant* before noon. Since that observance was 'partly indicated in the canons and completely forbidden', one may assume that included in the *collectae* was the reception of communion. I have been unable to find a source for this ruling.

Chapter 20 includes evidence from Socrates for further details about *collectae*: on Saturday *collectas agunt*; there is no reception of the sacraments, as is customary; a *collecta* is a separate service; the sacraments are received in the early evening (*circa vesperam*) after supper. In c.26, in another quotation from the HE, the Arians *collectas agebant* outside the city. There is no indication as to whether the service included the celebration of Mass or not.

In conclusion, in the context of cc.20, 21 and 26, in the latter part of the 4th c. *collecta* meant a service of the faithful sometimes with the Eucharist and sometimes without. Although in the 9th c. that meaning was no longer in current use, it is the correct translation here.

494.1-4 QUIA TALIS ... ARBITRANTUR: Note that Walahfrid states the function of communion.

494.4 SPIRITALIUM MEDICORUM, 5 MEDELAE, 6 MEDICAMINA: Note these indications of the *Christus medicus* tradition; see commentary 18:491.5.

494.7 ORIENTEM: See also J. Jungmann's discussion of the Saturday Eucharist (Jungmann [1951], 17⁴⁴, 246).

494.8 HISPANIAS: I have been unable to find any reference to a Saturday Eucharist in Spain.

494.8 MISSAS FACIENTES: Walahfrid uses four terms for the phrase 'to celebrate Mass', with *missa* generally in the plural: *missas explicare* 29:514.11; *missas agere* 23:496.28, 25:504.6; *missas celebrare* 21:494.24, 22:495.27, 23:503.10, 25:504.16 (a term also used five other times in quotations from the LP in 22:496.2, 23:501.24, 502.5, 24:503.21 and 25:503.31); and *missas facere* 21:494.8, 22:495.34, 496.3, 13, 23:496.27, 502.36, 24:503.18 with a single instance from the LP, 21:494.25.

The word was used in the plural in the early Christian centuries, but by the Carolingian era was generally written in the singular, probably reflecting the example of sacramentaries (e.g., GrS II, nos.39-250, *Missa pro infirmo*, *Alia missa pro infirmo*, etc.), the proliferation of Masses and the need to distinguish between one Mass and several (J. Jungmann [1951], 174-5; K. Gamber [1970], 170-1, 176-83).

Walahfrid is inconsistent in his use of *missae*: in most instances it is correct to render it in English in the singular, but occasionally in cc.22, 23 and 26 he is clearly indicating 'Masses'.

494.9-11 UNDE ... CELEBRABANT: This is the first reference in *De exordiis* to the Lord's Prayer preceding communion in Apostolic times (see also c.23:496.30), but Walahfrid is unable to give a source. Gregory assumed the practice in a letter to John of Syracuse (*Ep.* ix. 12.26). Even today no evidence has been found for its use in the Eucharist before

the end of the 4th c. (J. Jungmann [1955], 280; CAP II, 108). Walahfrid's terminology, *oratio dominica* (rather than *pater noster*) is common Carolingian use.

494.12 SUPERSUBSTANTIALEM: The Greek word is obscure, allowing a variety of interpretations. Walahfrid follows the patristic commentaries on the liturgical use of the Lord's Prayer: *panem supersubstantialem* is regarded as a true 'substantial' food for Christian life and must be seen in relation to the Eucharist. See CAP II, 107-109 for an excellent brief account of the issue with full references; see also J. Jungmann (1955), 280; JB: Mt 6.11^c, Jn 6.63^r; W. Rordorf (1980/81), 6-8.

Amalarius is typically concerned with the allegorical interpretation of *panem cotidianum*, not *panem supersubstantialem*; see OLO III.467 s.v. *Oratio dominica*. Rhabanus Maurus makes no mention of *panem supersubstantialem*, but uses *panem cotidianum* as his argument for daily communion (*De cler. inst.*, I.31 [PL 107, col. 321B]).

494.13 QUI SEMEL PER EBDOMADAM COMMUNICABANT: See also 835 Council of Aachen, c.21 (MGH *Conc.* II, 722).

494.17-18 HILARIUS: I have been unable to find any source for this quotation.

494.18-20 SANCTUS AUGUSTINUS ... ERRORI: *De cotidianis autem brevibus levibusque peccatis sine quibus haec vita non ducitur, cotidiana oratio fidelium satis facit* (*Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate*, c.71 [CCSL 156, 88]).

494.26 FERIAS IEIUNIORUM, 495.12 FERIAS, 495.13 FERIAE TANTUM DIES, 495.15 FERIAS: A feria is a day (except Saturday and Sunday) on which no feast falls; see ODCC s.v. FERIA, 508; see also c.29:514.2: ferias V, VI and VII of the week after Penecost were designated fast days by the Spanish.

494.28-33 QUIA ... HABERETUR: Walahfrid's explanation of Thursday's development from an aliturgical day to a *dies sollemnis* is not

the correct one. But even today there is not enough evidence to offer an alternative: see LP I, 168², 412¹⁹; W. Apel (1958), 57-8; CAP IV, 67.

495.1-4 LEGIMUS ... CONFORTATUM: For Cassius's vision in which the Lord spoke to him, see Gregory the Great, *Dialogi Libri IV*, IV.lviii.1 (ed. A. de Vogüé [1980], 194, 195¹).

495.2 NARNIENSEM: Narnia in Umbria.

495.5 GENNADIUS ... ECCLESTIASTICO: Cp. 'The *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* attributed to Gennadius', c.XXII: *Quotidie eucharistiae communionem percipere nec laudo nec vitupero. Omnibus tamen dominicis diebus communicandum suadeo et hortor, si tamen mens sine affectu peccandi sit* (ed. C.H. Turner [1905-6], 94).

495.10-11 APUD GRECOS ...DICUNTUR: Cp. *Iudicium de penitentia Theodori episcopi* c.49: *Greci omni dominico die communicant clerici et laici et qui tribus dominicis non communicaverit excommunicantur sicut et canones habent* (ed. P. Finsterwalder [1929], 274).

For an examination of the so-called Penitential of Theodore of Canterbury see G. Constable (1964.), 25-6 with full references; more recently see M. Lapidge (1986), 48 and [n.17].

495.12-15 QUIA ... DEPUTENTUR: This passage does not depend on the LP; I have been unable to find any source.

495.15 CLERICIS: See commentary c.7:481.27.

CHAPTER 22

Walahfrid could bring very little historical perspective to this chapter since the proliferation of Masses was a phenomenon of the Carolingian era: daily Mass was becoming commonplace and several Masses were often held on one day. Walahfrid's approach is didactic, supporting with Biblical and Patristic sources both the priest who chooses to celebrate only one Mass a day and the priest who celebrates more than one. This chapter is good evidence that it was a 9th-c. sacerdotal issue.

Alcuin's biographer describes him as holding Mass daily: *celebrabat omni die missarum solemnia, multa cum honestatis diligentia, habens singulis hebdomadae diebus missas deputatas proprias* (Vita Alcuini c.23 [MGH SS XV, 196]). Alcuin composed a small number of new votive Masses; by the 830s their Carolingian proliferation was becoming an issue of some importance; see D.A. Bullough (1983b), 66. The celebration of more than one Mass a day was of interest to Amalarius, but his remarks are characteristically allegorical (*Off. Prooemium*.xi; III.xxxviii, xl.1, xli, xlii.5; IV.xl.7-8 [OLO II]). Rhabanus Maurus did not deal with the affair in *De cler. inst.*

This concern with the increasing number of Masses leads into the controversial area of private Masses (see commentary 496.7-10). Passages from this chapter and cc.23 and 26 are often cited in the literature which is concerned with the increase of both daily and private Masses (A. Franz [1902], 2, 73; J. Jungmann [1951], 222⁶⁹, 226⁹⁵, [1955], 361¹²; C. Vogel [1986], 157⁵⁶). Walahfrid examines other attitudes toward daily communion in c.23:502.29-503.2.

495.34 ALIQUORUM FESTIS SANCTORUM: Amalarius records three Masses on the feast of John the Baptist as well as the three at Christmas (*Off.* III.xxxviii, xli [OLO II.373, 377-8]).

496.6-7 OFFICIA ... TESTANTUR: See, e.g., GrS II, MISSAE PRO VIVIS ET PRO DEFUNCTIS (nos.268-278); MISSAE PRO ELEMOSINIS: *Missae pro necessitatibus fidelium* (nos.132-4). Note the similarity between Walahfrid's term, *privata necessitas* and that adopted by modern liturgists, J. Deshusses's *Missae pro necessitatibus fidelium* (*ibid.*, 10).

496.7-10 IN DIEBUS ... EXPLENDAE: Contemporary accounts of 9th-c. liturgical practice are extremely rare. Although self-evident in the text, it is important to draw attention to Walahfrid's account of the options of priests when celebrations of Mass for both public occasions

and private needs coincide on the same day. He can celebrate the major feast, *publica celebritas*, and omit the votive Masses, *illae diversarum rerum necessitates*, or he can celebrate both the *publica observatio* and the *privata necessitas* by putting each of them in a separate service (thereby increasing the number of services) or by treating both in one service.

Walahfrid's terms in this chapter, c.23:503.13 *legitimam missam*, and c.26:505.1 *publica officia*, 506.14 *cotidie publico privatoque officio*, 506.26 *privatis missis* help to clarify the mid-9th c. concept of a private Mass. The issue today has become complex and controversial with one group of scholars interpreting a private Mass as one which is offered by one priest, alone, a mark of personal devotion, and another group who sees the term designating a secondary, rather than a primary, Mass attended by a smaller congregation and held for more personal or 'private' needs. The evidence in this chapter and c.26 supports the latter interpretation. See the excursus on 'private Masses' by Storey and Rasmussen, (translators of *Medieval Liturgy*, C. Vogel [1986], 156-159).

There is no indication that Walahfrid's use of *privatus* signifies a Mass presided over and attended by one single priest. He differentiates between a liturgical service relevant to major feasts or public concerns (*publica celebritas*, *publica observatio*, *publicum officium*), such as Easter, Pentecost and the feast of John the Baptist, and minor or more personal concerns (*privata necessitas*, *privata missa*, *privatum officium*), such as those celebrated at votive Masses. The relevance of *legitima missa* to this issue is argued in the commentary on c.23:503.7-15.

See also Benedict's use of *privatae dies* for ordinary days (RB c.13).

496.9 PRIVATA NECESSITATE: *Privata necessitas* here clearly designates a votive Mass. In contrast to *publica observatione*, the personal needs of individuals are met in such Masses, e.g. *missa pro iter*

agentibus; missa pro sterilitate mulierum; missa pro infirmo (GrS II, nos 183-211).

496.11-15 FIDELIUM ... PRAECIPUI: There appears to be no written source for this statement about Leo III or about Boniface. J. Jungmann cites Walahfrid as the source for this practice of Leo III (Jungmann [1951], 222). For another reference in *De exordiis* to Boniface with, again, no written source, see c.25:503.34. See also his unique statements below about Augustine (c.23:499.23-4, 502.33-5) and Gregory, Bishop of Tours (c.26:508.29-30).

CHAPTER 23

This long and well-organized chapter is unique among early medieval writings about the Mass. Although often linked with and compared to *Expositiones missarum* (cp. e.g., Rhabanus Maurus, *De cler. instit.* I.32,33 [PL 107, cols.321-326]; Amalarius, *Off.* III passim [OLO II.255-399]) which explain the meaning of the Mass (see the Introduction, 20-1), c.23 is strictly an historical overview of the Mass according to the Roman rite. As the title states, Walahfrid not only presents the *ordo* (arrangement) of the Mass, but also the *ratio* (rationale), why one section should follow another in a logical development. Interspersed among the *ordo* and *ratio* are important references to contemporary practice and problems.

Unusual in an early medieval historian, Walahfrid acknowledges the limitations of his sources as well as noting the topics where he has none (500.12, 501.3, 502.1). As internal evidence reveals, he did not intend this chapter to be studied in isolation from cc.15-25, which bear directly on some aspects of the Mass. However, it appears that this intention was not fulfilled: only 5 copies of the entire text survive; there are 3 copies of cc.21-25,28-30; one copy of c.32.

For the *ordo* of the Mass and the wording of the canon which Walahfrid gives in detail, see GrS I, nos.2-20.

496.22 LECTIUNUM: *Lectio* meant a perusal, a reading or a reading aloud; in the writings of the early Fathers it had come to mean passages from Scripture read aloud during the Mass or the Liturgy of the Hours; see also RR c.17: *Post expletionem vero trium psalmorum, recitetur lectio una...*

496.22 CONSECRATIONUM: *Consecratio* only needed a simple shift in meaning from a pagan to a Christian religious dedication, e.g., c.19:491.32-3 *a consecratione dominicorum sacramentorum* ; c.27:509.32 *consecrationem fontis*.

496.22 CANTILENARUM: Carolingian writers felt the need to create an enlarged Latin vocabulary to express new concepts. *Cantilenarum* is a new and specific use of *cantilena*, of which the classical meaning was 'song'. Paul the Deacon first used it to designate liturgical chant in *Liber de Episcopis Mettensibus*, written between 783 and 785, where he described the clergy at Metz being *...abundanter lege divina Romanaque imbutum cantilena.*' The meaning here is the abstract concept of chanting, a synonym for *cantus*. For a recent study of the functions of the different *cantilena*e and of the functions of liturgical singing in general use, see A. Ekenberg (1987), esp. 31-190. Alcuin, Amalarius and Notker use *cantilena* in this sense (see MLWB s.v.) as does Walahfrid again in c.26:507.30-34 where he distinguishes between *cantilena* and *psalmodiae*. By way of contrast, he refers to Augustine's use of *cantilena*, specifically designating the melodies of the chants for the Psalter (c.12:487.3). However, in the context of c.23 Walahfrid means the multiplicity of specific sung texts in the celebration of the Mass.

It should be noted here that Walahfrid never uses any phrase in *De exordiis* that could be construed as 'Gregorian chant'. W. Apel indicates

that it is a 20th-c. term: 'what we call "Gregorian chant"' (Apel [1958], 79 and *passim*); for G. Cattin's view of the development of the term see (Cattin 1984), 53.

496.24 SICUT IPSE PRAECEPTIT: See Mt 26.26-28; Mc 14.22-24; Lk 22.14-20. This phrase is an excellent example of the unity of *De exordiis*; it is only meaningful if it is connected to c.18:491.6-7: Jn 6.53-58.

496.26-27 LUCAS ... PANEM: a reflection of Walafrid's education at Reichenau and Fulda, where the 2nd- and 3rd-c. tradition of attributing the Book of Acts to Luke was incorporated into Carolingian teaching.

496.27-31 RELATIO ... PERMITTEBAT: This is a major contribution to our knowledge of 9th-c. liturgical practice, while at the same time posing difficult questions. Comparing current custom with that of the first Christians, *primis temporibus*, Walafrid describes a contemporary Good Friday communion: first the Lord's Prayer is said, then the commemoration of His Passion, then those allowed by *ratio* partake of the Lord's body and blood.

However, a careful reading of the passage discloses several problems. What were Walafrid's sources for the early celebration of the Mass? Both references are equally vague: *ut creditur* and *relatio maiorum*. Does *facere solemus* refer to Walafrid's monastic observance? Is he contrasting monastic observance with secular church observance? Do the *Romani*, (*quo die apud Romanos missae non aguntur*), include the people in Rome and those following the Roman custom?

Although Walafrid makes no reference to the use of presanctified bread, one may conclude that he is giving a description of the Mass of the Presanctified. It is in fact not a Mass but a communion service on days when the Eucharist is not celebrated. Some of the bread consecrated at the preceding Mass, in this case Maundy Thursday, is reserved for use on Good Friday, when in the Roman tradition the Eucharist has never been

celebrated. Walahfrid gives hitherto unaccounted-for details as well as omitting some which have been considered standard practices before his time (L. Duchesne [1919], 234.249; F. Cabrol [1925], 167; G. Willis [1964], 1-48, esp. 47-8; CAP II, 240-2 with excellent references).

496.29 **FACERE SOLEMUS:** Note Walahfrid's reference to contemporary practice.

496.29 **PRAEMISSA ORATIONE DOMINICA:** Cp. commentary c.21:494.9-11 *unde .. celebrant*.

496.31 **QUOS RATIO PERMITTEBAT:** This phrase raises questions of both form and content. *Permittebat* should be in the subjunctive, a surprising mistake for a Latinist of Walahfrid's stature. Could the phrase have originally been a marginal addition, later incorporated into the text? A personal examination of St. Gallen 446, the earliest copy of *De exordiis*, showed the phrase already in the text in the last quarter of the 9th c.

Since Walahfrid frequently refers to canonical rulings, *ratio* appears to indicate a practice not covered by conciliar decrees.

497.10 **HERESEON:** Walahfrid correctly uses the genitive plural of *heresis*, one of his few uses of Greek vocabulary in the text: see cc.6, 7, 23:497.10, 498.22. His concern with heresy reflects the Frankish confrontation with adoptionism during Charlemagne's reign. Cp. 23:499.40-500.2.

497.11-13 **AMBROSIUS ... ECCLESIA:** Based on work done by contemporary scholars C. Vogel has refuted Walahfrid's statement: Ambrose himself composed only hymns and antiphons (Vogel [1986], 37 and [n.80]).

497.13 **ORDINEM ... EXEQUAMUR:** Walahfrid begins the history of the rites that comprise the Mass, listing them in order of occurrence. Since he lived chiefly at Reichenau and the palace at Aachen, with a two year stay at Fulda, and another two year period perhaps at Speyer, and since he makes no mention of contemporary variations in the *ordo* of the Mass,

it may be reasonable to infer that he is reporting the structure of the Mass at two, perhaps three, Frankish monastic centres and at the royal chapel, in the second quarter of the 9th c. Although assumptions are hazardous, in this instance it might appear that one goal of Charlemagne, liturgical uniformity in his kingdom, had been reached to a certain degree within this limited area. For the *ordo* of the Mass and the wording of the canon of which Walahfrid gives details, see GrS I, nos. 2-20.

[N.B. For another instance of Charlemagne's desire for order and *renovatio*, note the 'classical' norms of orthography in the corrections in the *Libri Carolini* (A. Freeman [1988], 160).]

497.14-16 ANTIPHONAS ... LEGERETUR: This is the first of 11 references in this chapter to the LP, the historical value of which was considered in the introduction to commentary c.19. The writer of LP, second edition, states: ... *constituit ut psalmi David CL ante sacrificium psalli antephanatim <sic> ex omnibus, quod ante non fiebat, nisi tantum epistula beati Pauli recitabatur et sanctum Evangelium* (LP I, 230): the introit is not mentioned. Rhabanus Maurus in 819 made the earliest attempt to connect Celestine's innovation with the Mass, *De cler. instit.*, I.32 (PL 107, col.322C). About ten years later Amalarius offered a new analysis whereby he identified Celestine's psalmody with the introit antiphon; a little more than a decade later Walahfrid, following Amalarius, put the chanting of the psalter in the 9th-c. context of antiphons at the introit.

The LP's statement, paraphrased by Walahfrid as *ad eius usque tempora ante sacrificium lectio una apostoli tantum et evangelium legeretur*, has been variously understood by both medieval and modern commentators, although most have accepted Amalarius's and Walahfrid's views that it referred to the introit. Recently, however, it has been argued on the basis of the LP, first edition, that Celestine's innovation was the introduction of responsories, probably at the readings. Extracts

from psalms to provide interest, and other antiphons would, on this view, be a later innovation which influenced the wording of the LP, second edition; see P. Jeffery (1984), 147-165. Amalarius and Walahfrid, trying to give a historical beginning for the practice of their own day, would simply have been mistaken about the date.

497.14 DICERE: *Dicere*, *decantare* and *cantare* are used interchangeably in describing the performance of chants in the Mass and office (cp. *RB* c.9). In this chapter *dicere* is his preferred word: *decantare* occurs once, *cantare* 7, and *dicere* 16 times; see also commentary 26:505.37.

497.16-17 LAETANIAE ... CHRISTE ELEISON: The brevity of this passage indicates difficulties in tracing the origin of the *Kyrie* in the Mass. The same holds true today (E. Bishop [1918], 116-136; F. Cabrol [1925], 48-51; J. Jungmann [1959], 222-231; CAP II, 53, 73).

Since *laetania* had more than one meaning in the mid-9th c., Walahfrid gives a precise definition of the word. Originally *laetania* simply meant 'prayer'. Its usage became more specific in the Greek church in the course of the 4th c. where it meant a petitionary prayer read during the Mass by the deacon and responded to by the congregation with the words *Kyrie Eleison*, 'Lord, have mercy!'. That it was also used in this form at the office is confirmed by the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, a 4th-c. account of Egeria's pilgrimage to Jerusalem (CCSL 175, 68). This link with the *Kyrie* laid the groundwork for subsequent confusion about the use of *laetania*.

The function of *laetania* as a petitionary prayer with a *Kyrie* response had passed westwards through Italy into Gaul by the early part of the 6th c. Simultaneously, in the 5th c. in southern Gaul Rogation Days were called *Laetaniae*, when people and clergy processed through a town with prayers and the congregational response, *Kyrie eleison*. This became a second particular meaning of the word, which Walahfrid discusses

in chapter 29. It is the meaning most commonly associated with 'litany' today. The two meanings of *laetania* continued to exist side by side, one as a public procession, the other as an intercessory prayer at the Mass and office; for a modern summary of 'litany as prayer' see E.J. Gratsch (1967), 789.

In the 6th c. Benedict still equated *laetania* with *kyrie* in chapters 9, 12, 13, and 17 of his Rule. By the 8th c. *kyrie* had become separated from *laetania* in the Mass. However, a residual connection between the two words is evident in the omission of the *Kyrie* in the early Roman Mass celebrated on the Litany days, i.e. the days on which the *Kyrie* had already been sung by the people who had proceeded in general procession to the station church (L. Duchesne [1919], 164). Since in the normal course of things practice and terminology do not keep step, *laetania* could still have had either meaning in mid-9th-c. Francia. Walahfrid's exact definition underlines the current ambiguity of its liturgical use.

497.17-18 A GRECORUM ... MISSIS: Walahfrid is not accurate here. He had either overlooked or had not read Gregory the Great's letter to John, Bishop of Syracuse, *Ep.* 9. 26 (CCSL 140, 587). Gregory's letter is evidence for the inclusion of *Christe eleison* in the Roman Mass in the late 6th c. but not in the Greek Mass.

497.18-498.12 YMNUM ... REMANSIT: This long and complex passage adds nothing to our knowledge of the early history of the *Gloria*; see CAP II, 54 with bibliography.

Nonetheless, we are able to see Walahfrid's almost spontaneous working out of the problem posed by his source material, which results in the first note of scepticism towards the LP as a historical source. This passage is also excellent evidence for Walahfrid's almost colloquial facility with writing in Latin; e.g., he begins a long sentence with *Hymnum angelicum* ..., a dangling accusative; he picks it up again after *plena mysteriis*, continues *illum, inquam, hymnum* ... and places it correctly as the subject of the infinitive *dici*.

497.23 THELESPHORUS IX ROMANORUM PRAESUL: According to the earliest succession lists of bishops of Rome, he was 7th in the line inaugurated by Apostles Peter and Paul. The later convention which reckoned St. Peter the first pope counted him the 8th (ODP, 9).

497.29 CANTARENTUR: Although Walahfrid frequently uses *dicere* for 'sing' (see above, 497.14), the words, *cantare*, *decantare* and *cantilena*, are important evidence for chanting (or singing) specific items of the Mass (here in c.23) and of the Liturgy of the Hours (c.26). In the Mass the following items are chanted (or sung): antiphons at the introit (23:497.29), *Gloria in excelsis* (23:498.7), *Sanctus* (23:498.1), *responsories* and *alleluia* (23:499.25), Creed (*in cantilenae dulcedinem ... modulis sonorum* 23:499.36), 'Hymn of the Three Children' (al. *Benedicite*) (23:500.7), *Offertorium* (23:500.10), *Agnus Dei* (23:502.20). Psalms and hymns are sung in the Liturgy of the Hours (c.26:505.25 and *passim*). A less specific reference, but an indication of both melody and recitative in the Mass, is Walahfrid's quotation from Augustine: *ut ea cantentur, quae ita scripta sunt, quae autem non ita scripta sunt, non cantentur* (23:499.23-24).

497.33-4 IN CAPITE ... VIDETUR: See GrS I, p.85.

497.39 SANCTUS ... RELIQUA: See Is 6.3.

498.9-10 CONSTITUISSE ... DICERETUR: But note that the LP reads *natalicia martyrum* (LP I, 263).

498.13-25 ORATIONES ... UTI: Walahfrid's definition of *collecta* as a prayer, and detailed description of its use within the Mass and elsewhere, is important evidence for an issue which has exercised liturgists since the turn of the present century; for references, see commentary 21:493.34.

For a study of the history of the collect within the context of *Collectars*, written collections of the prayers for the Liturgy of the Hours, see the 1987 thesis of A.M.H. Corrêa, 'The *Durham Ritual* (Durham

Ms.A.IV.19) and its place in the development of collectars, 8th-12th c.' (Publication forthcoming, HBS).

The following commentary examines the details of Walahfrid's description within the context of the whole passage, 498.13-25.

498.13 and 21 PETITIONES and PETITIONEM: It should be noted that *collectae* are petitionary prayers.

498.16 ORATIONIBUS, CONVENTIBUS ET COLLOCUTIONIBUS: See also *synaxeos* 23:498.22 (below).

498.19-21 AUGUSTINUS ... DIREXISSE: e.g., *Sermones de vetere testamento*: Sermones XVIB 4, XVIII, XXIIIA (ad Deum), XXVI (ad Dominum, etc) and XXX. Here is the origin of the General Intercession or Prayer of the Faithful; see P. Leclercq (1977), 50-56; CAP I, 184³⁴; CAP II, 71. Note also the connection of this prayer to facing east for prayer (c.4).

498.22 SYNAXEOS: Walahfrid has used the Greek correctly: genitive singular of *synaxon*, and with correct feminine gender; see also commentary on *hereseon* 23:497.10.

498.22-23 SOLENT ... SUBIUNGERE: Cp. RB c.17.

498.23-25 SUNT ... UTI: Walahfrid appears to be the first to make a reference to an important link between the prayers for the Mass and those for the Liturgy of the Hours. The prayers in a Mass-set (*preces*: see commentary c.8:483.26-28) are of two kinds, internal and external. Internal prayers (*secreta*, *praefatio* and often the *postcommunio*) were said only at the celebration of the Eucharist, and were kept in sacramentaries (collections of prayers to be read by the priest at Mass). External prayers (*collecta*, *super populum* and *aliae orationes*) were said during the Mass but not at the Eucharist; external prayers were, of course, also included in sacramentaries. External prayers from Mass-sets were consistently borrowed for the Liturgy of the Hours and were included both in collectars (collections of prayer-texts to be used in the Office) and in sacramentaries. My attention was drawn to this important connec-

tion between the prayers of Mass and Office by my daughter; the terminology, 'internal' and 'external' prayers which is essential for clarifying the types of prayers, appears to be unique to her thesis: see A.M.H. Corrêa (1987), c.I.16; c.II.41-2.

498.24 SINT DICENDAE: Prayers of the priest were offered in a solemn recitative, a form of speech-song which never incorporated any sort of melody. For the problems of music in the Mass see c.12:487.1-3: *illud probabilius est dicendum, quod habuerit vanitatis et iactantiae minimum. Lege libros confessionum sancti Augustini, et invenies, quantum ille iudicaverit esse periculi in cantilenarum melodia dulcedine* (trans. p. 78). Note also that the prayers of the priest are not included in those items of the Mass that are sung or chanted (commentary 23:497.29); see J. Jungmann (1951), 377.

498.28-38 CREDIMUS ... SUPERADDITA: The controversy over the origins of the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries is beyond the scope of this thesis. For an excellent summary with full bibliography see C. Vogel (1986), 61-102, esp. 64-93; see also CAP I,47-50.

498.30-32 GELASIUS ... HABENTUR: Although the earliest reference to Gelasian sacramentaries is to be found c.830 in sacristy lists and library catalogues, Walahfrid is the first author to mention Gelasius in the context of prayers and sacramentaries (B. Moreton [1976], 2). The phrase *Gelesius papa in ordine LI* suggests a reference to the LP (vol.I, 255), but Walahfrid summarizes and adds to the LP text: *fecit etiam et sacramentorum praefationes et orationes cauto sermone*.

498.32 GALLIARUM ... HABENTUR: Both Wilson and Moreton allow two translations of *suus*: the Gallic church used and was still using in many places the prayers ordered by Gelasius, or the church had its own prayers that were still in use (H.A. Wilson [1894], lix¹ and B. Moreton [1974], 3). A Latinist of Walahfrid's stature should have applied the rule that *suus* refers to the main subject of the sentence (with rare exceptions)

whereas *eius* never does. This translation also allows for Gelasius's *preces* to mean those in the Mass-set and Gallican *orationes* to mean a much greater variety of prayers.

499.2-7 CREDITUR ... INSTRUMENTUM: This is an interesting juxtaposition of Walahfrid's thought. Although he discusses the value of the Gospel first and then the Apostle, the actual practice, which he endorses, reverses the order.

499.7-9 ANTEPONITUR ... CONSCENDAT: Rhabanus Maurus was not concerned with this order of precedence. Amalarius expounds briefly on the order of the lowest to the highest in regard to the readings (*Off.* III. xi. 5 [OLO II. 293-4]).

499.9-11 STATUIT ... DEMONSTRARENT: Walahfrid's emphasis on this passage differs from that of modern liturgists who stress the significance of standing for the Gospel reading to demonstrate the Word's importance (J. Jungmann [1951], 448; CAP I, 180-1; CAP II, 64-66, 152-3).

499.15-16 DAMASUS ... OSTENDIT: Krause cites here the apocryphal letters exchanged between Damasus and Jerome (Jaffé I, nr.+246; ed. A. Theiner [1836] and by A. Knoöpfler, *De exordiis* [1890], pp. 70-71 [n.3], from St. Gallen MS 446, i.e., the main *De exordiis* MS). This exchange, however, is concerned not with lections, but with the hour of celebrating Mass, relevant to *De exordiis*, c.24: *De tempore missae*.

For the letter text in fact used ^{by Walahfrid} ~~by~~, which seems to have originated in an apocryphal correspondence as a preface to the book of Psalms, see *Préfaces de la Bible latine*, ed. D. De Bruyne (Namur, 1920), 65. For its place in the controversy over antiphons at the introit, see P. Jeffery (1984), esp. 156-9.

499.23-24 VIDENDUM ... CANTENTUR: An indication that some kind of spontaneous or traditional verses were being chanted or sung: see Augustine, *Regula ad servos Dei* 3, 2 (ed. T. van Bavel [1959], 27).

499.25-26 RESPONSORIA ... COEPERUNT: Although Walahfrid seems equally uncertain about the origin of the responsory and the alleluia,

the history of the responsory has been traced back to the time of Augustine (CAP II, 63-4 with bibliography); see also the responses attached to the Liturgy of the Hours (see commentary 26:507.10). Discovering sources for the origin of the use of the alleluia in the west, however, is as difficult today as it was for Walahfrid (F. Cabrol [1925], 44-46; CAP II, 64-65 with bibliography); CAP IV, 218-9; but see J. Jungmann (1951), 421-442, for an extended examination of the development of the two chants.

[N.B. The responsory is a psalm (or perhaps a shortened version of a psalm) sung in a responsorial form; the alleluia is a chanted repetition of the word 'alleluia' to bring out the paschal character of the proclamation of the Good News.]

499.26-29 PROHIBITA ... PONATUR: 633 council of Toledo IV, c.12: *In quibusdam quoque Spaniarum ecclesiis laudes post Apostolum decantantur priusquam evangelium praedicetur, dum canones praecipiant post Apostolum non laudes sed evangelium pronuntiare, praesumptio est enim ut anteponantur ea quae sequi debent; nam laudes ideo evangelium sequuntur propter gloriam Christi, quod per eundem evangelium praedicatur; circa omnes igitur sacerdotes hic ordo deinceps retineatur: excommunicationis poenam suscepturi qui hunc ordinem perturbaverint* (CVH, 196).

499.28 YMNUS: Note Walahfrid's use of *hymnus* instead of *laudes*, the term in the council ruling above (499.26-29 *prohibita ... ponatur*). For Walahfrid's use of the word, see the introduction to commentary on c.26, and commentary on c.26:505.11 *ymnos*.

499.29-31 EX QUO ... ECCLESIAS: There appears to be no source for this conclusion.

499.32-500.2 SYMBOLUM ... ITERARI: Although Walahfrid cites no sources, and even though he is wrong on one point, this section provides important evidence for the incorporation of the 'Nicene Creed' into the Mass in the West, as well as for the singing of the Creed. Walahfrid

followed the widely held view that the two versions, both misleadingly known today as the Nicene Creed, originated respectively at Nicea in 325 (designated by scholars as N) and at Constantinople in 381 (designated as C). Recent scholarship has raised doubts about the origins of the latter, finding its ultimate derivation in the Baptismal Creed of Jerusalem although it is not recorded before the 440s. For a summary account of this complex history with full bibliography see ODCC s.v. NICENE CREED, 968. J. Kelly makes extensive although not always accurate use of Walahfrid's passage for tracing the history of C in the Western rite (Kelly [1972], 353-56).

Originally said at the ceremony of baptism from at least the 4th c. in both East and West (see here c.27:511.7-8), the Creed's subsequent and additional function was linked to combating various forms of heresy. Its most effective position, ensuring frequent repetition, was in the Mass. Walahfrid gives evidence for 1) the Creed's placement in the Mass, 2) performance by *cantilena* and 3) anti-heretical use, both ancient and contemporary. All three points are linked to its use at the chapel at Aachen since the late 8th c. (MGH *Conc.* II, 240-44) where Walahfrid had worshipped between 828-838, and where he would certainly have participated in its lively liturgical affairs.

Walahfrid's error reveals his historical purpose. The Creed's place in the Mass spread from Greece to Spain, and then to Aachen via the British Isles. Rome did not include the Creed in the Mass until the early 11th c. Walahfrid's statement, *ab ipsis* [the Greeks] *ergo ad Romanos ille usus creditur pervenisse*, is incorrect, but consistent with the purpose of c.23: *Igitur ordinem missae Romanae, ut possumus, exequamur*. *Creditur* gives him away: he can cite no source, but it serves his purpose to link the Creed historically to Rome.

Walahfrid continues the rationale for the position of the Gospel in the Mass: between the Apostle and the Creed; cp. c.23:499.2-7. Even

though a pupil of Rhabanus Maurus, Walahfrid does not continue the Alcuinian tradition of expository analysis maintained by Rhabanus Maurus: compare Walahfrid's short history of the Creed with Rhabanus's much longer exposition of its theological content, *De cler. inst.* II.56 (PL 107, cols.368-9).

500.2-9 CONCILIO ... ADIMPLETUR: Although Walahfrid cites no sources for the origin of the Creed in the Roman rite, he does include one for the Spanish rite, further evidence for liturgical diversity.

500.6-7 IN EIUSDEM ... CANTARETUR: 633 Council of Toledo IV.14 (CVH, 197).

500.8-9 QUATTUOR ... ADIMPLETUR: These are the four Ember Days; see *OR XXXVII B (JQ)* 12, *XXXVIII* 10. For the retention of the 'Song of the Three Children' (al. *Benedicite*) in the Roman Ember Day liturgy, see, e.g., AMS, nos.46a, 111, 192 and pp.xli-xliii.

500.10-13 OFFERTORIUM ... FATERI: See c.19 for those things which are allowed to be offered.

500.10-11 QUAMVIS ... DICATUR: I have been unable to find Walahfrid's source for this statement.

500.10-36 OFFERTORIUM ... EXHIBETUR: an awkward passage, uncharacteristic of *De exordiis*. As he states, '*quis specialiter addiderit officiis nostris, aperte non legimus*', Walahfrid has no sources from which to write a historical account of the offertory chant (modern historians cite the 4th c. as the earliest evidence for offertory and communion chants: see e.g., J. Jungmann (1955), 277, 391-400; CAP II, 78¹⁰, 121) and seems uncertain as to the procedure he should follow. As a result, we get an unusual insight into two current problems: the improper way some people were leaving the Mass after the offertory (19-26: *sciendum ... sunt*) and the objectionable custom of making a full commemoration for every single person named in a Mass (26-36: *sed et ... exhibetur*).

500.13-14 CREDAMUS ... OBSERVAMUS: See OR XXIV.54, XXVII.64, XXVIII.20, XXIX.60. Walahfrid's belief in the original silence at the offertory and communion is no more ^{than} the law of retaining the ancient in seasons of high liturgical worth. In connection with the omission of the *Gloria patri* at Requiem Masses, Good Friday and the Easter Vigil, J. Jungmann also applies this 'law' but gives no source (Jungmann [1951], 328); see also commentary c.26:507.17-19.

500.14 SANCTI: Walahfrid treats *pascha* as a neuter noun, here unusually in the genitive *paschae* rather than *paschatis* (L&S s.v.), modified by *sanctus*; see also c.20:492.33 *legale pascha perfecit*.

500.16-19 TRADITUR ... COMMEMORATUR: Walahfrid is referring to Gregory's Antiphony, which must have had a title similar to that of the Gregorian Sacramentary (GrS I, p.85) sent to Charlemagne by Hadrian c.787: for this date see D.A. Bullough (1985), 288 and (1986), 102⁶. But for a different view of the arrival of MSS of the Gregorian Sacramentary at the Court see GrS III, pp.78-91; see also c.26:508.2-5 *ordinem ... composuerint* and commentary. For the enormous problems this Antiphony has caused modern liturgists, see the bibliography in C. Vogel (1986), 398¹⁹⁵; for his excellent assessment see 357-9, 363-66.

500.19-26 SCIENDUM ... SUNT: Here is a strongly worded reference to a troubling practice of monks, priests or laity, Walahfrid does not designate which; leaving the Mass before the Eucharist seemed to be fairly common (P. Riché [1978], 237).

Note, however, that although attendance at Mass was obligatory -- but certain early sections could be omitted -- one could choose to communicate or not (c.23:502.29-36 *quia ... sacramentorum*). Amalarius and Rhabanus Maurus are both specific: if one can attend only part of a Mass, one must be present from the Offering to the last benediction, *Ite, missa est: Queritur in quo loco inchoatur officium missae, et si forte ad totum officium non occurrerit, ubi presentare debeat in initio missae? Nobis*

videtur missam vocari ab eo loco, ubi incipit sacerdos sacrificium Deo offerre usque ad ultimam benedictionem qua clamante Levita, dicit: 'Ite, missa est' (Rhabanus Maurus, De cler. inst. I. Additio de missa [PL 107, col.326B]); see also Amalarius, Off. III.xxxvi (OLO II.368). Walahfrid makes no mention here of that familiar conclusion (c.23:503.15-18).

500.24-25 NON ENIM ... OPTULERUNT: *qui tibi offerunt* is in the *Memento* of the canon. He makes no mention of the Franco-Gallican addition, *pro quibus tibi offerimus* (CAP II, 134).

500.26-36 SED ET ... EXHIBETUR: Note the edge in Walahfrid's voice, an indication that the problem was serious and particularly troubling. (Cp. c.8 and his reaction to Claudius of Turin's stand on images). Walahfrid crosses swords here with Amalarius, who in the *Liber Officialis* (III.xix.17) lists suggested daily offerings at the altar: *pro peccato, pro regno, pro sanctuario, pro Iuda, pro votis, pro spontaneis* (OLO II.316). Walahfrid questions the motive behind making a special offering and a special petition for every intention. The belief was wrong that the one sacrament was not a universal *medicamentum*. Regino of Prüm also insists that only one offering should be made for all intentions, *De synod. causis*, I, inquis. 73 (PL 132, col.190).

500.31-32 QUODSI ... FACIAT: This allowance for diversity is also expressed in c.22:496.15-18.

500.36-501.7 PRAEFATIONEM ... COMMEMORATIONES: *Praefatio* is the term for that variable prayer of the Mass which begins: *Vere dignum*, preceding the *Sanctus*. Originally included in the canon, the break had taken place by the beginning of the 8th c. (B. Botte [1935], 51; J. Jungmann [1955], 103-107). The elaborately decorated *Vere dignum* and *Te igitur* pages in Sacramentaries offer further evidence for the separation of Preface and canon (O. Pächt [1986], 38-42, 62, 78-79).

There is still speculation about the origins of *praefatio* (in the Mass): see e.g., B. Capelle (1952b), 139-50; B. Botte (1935), 51; CAP II, 93; SOL 190-91.

The sacramentaries do not designate which prefaces are worded differently in their entirety and which repeat a basic formula with special insertions. For that basic formula into which the insertions are made, see GrS I, no.3.

500.37-501.1 HUMANAE ... DEPOSCITUR: The origins of the *Sanctus* are not fully clear: for statements of the problems see B. Botte (1935), 53; J. Jungmann (1955), 132-38; CAP II, 94-96.

501.1 CAELESTIUM VIRTUTUM: The common meaning of *virtutes* is those invisible and good qualities of the people of God (see cc.2, 14). Here *virtutes* designate one of the nine great choirs of angels; cp. B. Botte (1935), 52; ODCC s.v. ANGEL, 52-53 with references. For the fixing of their number and order see the 'Celestial Hierarchies' of Dionysius, the Pseudo-Areopagite (c.500); for investigations into this imagery in the *Sanctus* see B. Capelle (1952b), 145-50.

501.2 CANONEM: This consecratory prayer in the Roman Mass is a succession of short prayers, namely (from their opening words) *Te Igitur*, *Memento [vivorum]*, *Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur*, *Quam Oblationem*, *Qui Pridie* (the actual words of Consecration), *Unde et Memores* (or Anamnesis, the commemoration of Christ's death and resurrection), *Supra Quae*, *Supplices Te Rogamus* (or Epiclesis, the calling down of the Holy Ghost to consecrate the bread and wine), *Memento [defunctorum]*, *Nobis Quoque Peccatoribus* and *Per Quem Haec Omnia*. On all this see ODCC s.v., and CAP II, 88-106, esp. the bibliography on p.88.

501.7-22 ACTIO ... COMMIXTIO: Walahfrid's attempt to sort out the misinterpretation of the two sequences of saints is not correct, but highlights an area of liturgical interest. For a recent study on that irregular order of the apostles see V. Kennedy (1963), esp. 101-119; his conclusions point to a deliberate hierarchy; see also CAP I, 154-155.

501.8 COMMUNIO ET SOCIETAS: Walahfrid's vocabulary is drawn from the two sections of the canon in which the lists are found: *communio* from

communicantes, and *societas* from the phrase in the *nobis quoque*, *societatem donare*. He elaborates on this communion and the fellowship of saints in c.8:483.16-28 *ergo cum ... poterunt*.

501.9 QUOD QUIDAM DICUNT: I have been unable to find any source for this misinterpretation.

501.10 and 13 CORONATI, CORONATUM: The crowning of martyrs indicates their entrance into sainthood, e.g., CAP I, 111 and n.6, 120; see Isidore's etymology of *coronatus* :

The first of the martyrs in the New Testament was Stephen, which in the Hebrew language is translated from *norma* (pattern), because he was the first in martyrdom for the imitation of the faithful. The same word, moreover, also converts from the Greek language into Latin as *coronatus* (crowned): and [by] this prophetically: so that what ensued in the affair in fact resounded beforehand in the name with a certain prophecy of the future. For he endured, and he received what was in his name. For Stephen is called *corona* (crown): stoned in lowliness, but *coronatus* (crowned) on high.

Martyrum primus in Novo Testamento Stephanus fuit, qui Hebraeo sermone interpretatur 'norma', quod prior fuerit in martyrio ad imitationem fidelium. Idem autem et Graeco sermone in Latinum vertitur, 'coronatus': et hoc propheticè: ut quod sequeretur in re, vaticinio quodam futuri prius in vocabulo resonaret. Passus est enim, et quod vocabatur, accepit. Stephanus enim, 'corona', dicitur: humiliter lapidatus: sed sublimiter coronatus (Etym. VII.xi.1-3).

For information on the following five prayers see above, 501.2:

501.17 PRIMAM VERO PARTEM CANONIS: *Unde et memores.*

501.25-26 EAM ... COMMEMORATUR: *Qui pridie.*

501.27 IN EA PARTE: *Communicantes.*

501.30 IN SEQUENTI ORDINE: *Nobis quoque.*

501.31-32 GREGORIUS ... DISPONAS: *Hanc igitur.*

501.21 UT HIERONIMUS TESTIS EST: See *Praefatio Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri in Evangelio* (Vulgate II, 1516)

501.22-502.9 ALEXANDER ... ADNOTATUM: Walahfrid comments on those prayers in the Canon for which the LP gives information. He does not follow their order in the Canon, but rather their historical order as presented in the LP. He makes one exception, however, reversing the

accounts of Gregory I and Leo I to clear up misconceptions fostered by the LP.

502.9-11 ACTIO ... CONFECTIO: Modern liturgists describe the *canon* and *actio* in just the same terms (e.g., CAP II, 91).

502.11 ORATIO DOMINICA, 17 PACEM, 19 AGNUS DEI: Walahfrid considers these three items as a unit; they follow each other logically to prepare the communicant to worthily receive the body and blood of the Lord. This explains why he continues his further consideration of the peace after the *Agnus Dei*. Rhabanus Maurus treats the three items in much the same way, *De cler. instit.*, I.33 (PL 107, col.326B-C); see also Amalarius, *Off.* III.xxix.32-33 (OLO II.355-359, 363-365).

Note, however, that in *Ordo* I.99, of early 8th-c. Roman origin (C. Vogel [1986], 159 and n.70) neither the Lord's Prayer nor the Peace is connected to the *Agnus Dei*.

502.11 SEQUITUR ORATIO DOMINICA: The position of the Lord's Prayer in the Mass was variable. Connected to the breaking of bread from earliest times (cc.21:494.9-18, 27; 23:496.29), it was placed after the Canon, sometimes before the fraction and sometimes after it. For an extensive look at the history of the Lord's Prayer, its use and place in the Mass in both East and West, see J. Jungmann (1955), 277-293. For an excellent brief summary see CAP II, 107-109.

502.12-13 UNA ... PRAESUMAMUS: *Praeceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati audemus dicere* (GrS I, no.17).

502.13-14 ALTERA ... PETAMUS: *Libera nos quaesumus domine ab omnibus malis praeteritis, praesentibus, et futuris, et intercedente beata et gloriosa semper virgine dei genetrice maria, et beatis apostolis tuis petro et paulo, da propitius pacem in diebus nostris, ut ope misericordiae tuae adiuti et a peccato simus liberi semper et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per dominum nostrum ... amen* (GrS I, no.19).

502.14-17 QUAE ... PERCIPIANT: Walahfrid follows the emphasis of Augustine and Benedict on the purification which the Lord's Prayer

imparts (St. Augustine *Sermon* 17, [CCSL 41, 241]); see also RB c.13. For the place of the Lord's Prayer in the argument for daily communion, see c.21:494.9-20.

502.17-19 PACEM ... DEMONSTREMUS: Although Walahfrid makes no mention of the kiss of peace, it is understood by the terminology *demonstremus*, *eum ad pacem non accedere* and *pacem accipere*. For a thorough examination of the Peace with copious references see J. Jungmann (1955), 321-332, esp. 323¹⁴ and 330⁴⁸; CAP II, 113-115 with bibliography.

502.18 INNOCENTIUS ... INSTITUIT: The decree of Pope Innocent reads: *Pacem igitur asseris ante confecta mysteria quosdam populis imperare, vel sibi inter sacerdotes tradere, cum post omnia quae aperire non debeo pax sit necessario indicenda per quam constet populum ad omnia quae in mysteriis aguntur atque in ecclesia celebrantur praebuisse consensum ac finita esse pacis concludentis signaculo demonstrentur* (ed. R. Cabié [1973], 20-22). R. Cabié has produced the most recent critical edition, translation and commentary (see Sources); for the complicated history of this text see D.A. Bullough [1977], 25⁴.

502.23-29 PORRO ... NOTETUR: An important reference to a little known restriction on the kiss of peace; see also J. Jungmann (1955), 323¹⁴. Note the indication of personal relations and Walahfrid's sensitivity to misunderstandings.

502.23 CANONES: Cp. *Iudicium de penitentia Theodori episcopi* c.50: *Romani similiter communicant qui volunt, qui artem noluerint excommunicantur qui non communicant nec accedant ad pacem neque ad osculum in ecclesia* (ed. P. Finsterwalder [1929], 274). Note remarks on Theodore's penitentials in commentary c.21:495.10-11.

502.29-35 QUIA ... SACRAMENTORUM: This afterthought would have been more appropriate at the end of c.22. Was c.22 not at hand? Did he feel it was undesirable to add it to the end of the chapter? Would it have been too difficult to recopy c.22 with the insertion properly placed?

503.7-15 POSSUMUS ... DEMONSTRAT: It is important to note that Walahfrid's interpretation of a lawful Mass is one in which a priest celebrates with at least one other person *respondens, offerens atque communicans*; the verb *intersunt* is crucial; see also J. Jungmann (1951), 225-6. A *legitima missa* is particularly relevant to a private Mass; see commentary on c.22:496.7-10. Theodulf of Orléans also forbids a priest celebrating alone (MGH *Capit. episc.* I, c.7).

503.11 COOPERATORES: This is the only occasion Walahfrid uses the word (a feature of liturgical prayers) in *De exordiis*, but in an unusual way.

503.14 COMPOSITIO PRECUM: The vocabulary of the canon of the Mass refers to more than one person, e.g., *oremus; unde et memores sumus; libera nos quaesumus*.

503.16 BENEDICTIONEM SACERDOTIS: Walahfrid defines the last prayer of the Mass, said after communion *ad complendum*, as the blessing of the priest (503.16-17 ... *benedictio intellegitur illa ultima sacerdotis oratio*). He gives no indication that there was occasionally a second prayer, *oratio super populum*, following the *post communionem/ad complendum*. The Gregorian Sacramentary witnesses the *ad complendum* at all Masses, but in Lent there is added an *oratio super populum* after it. The Leonine Sacramentary follows the *ad complendum* with the *oratio super populum* in all Masses. The Old Gelasian Sacramentary includes them at Christmas, Epiphany and the Sundays of Lent (CAP II, 122-23). See L. Eizenhofer (1938), 258-311; see also J. Jungmann (1955), 343¹¹ for the problems of the history and terminology of post-communion prayers.

CHAPTER 24

The brevity of this chapter testifies to an established custom with little controversy concerning the actual time of celebrating Mass. Although Walahfrid does not stipulate here any specific hour, there is ample evidence that the usual time for Mass was at the third hour, about 9 A.M., depending on the season: in antiquity and the early middle ages the twelve hours of daytime were counted from the rising to the setting of the sun; the hours therefore varied in length according to the season and matched ours only at the equinoxes. Rulings specifying the third hour occur in several sources, e.g., the 538 Council of Orléans, c.15: *hora tertia missarum celebratio in Dei nomine inchoetur* (CCSL 148 A, 120); Gregory of Tours: *Facta quoque hora tertia, cum populus ad missarum sollemnia conveniret* (*Vitae patrum*, VIII.11); Theodulf of Orléans, *Capitula*, c.45: *populus a publicis missarum sollemnibus, quae hora tertia canonice fiunt* (MGH *Capit. episc.* I, 141); and Regino of Prüm, *Libellus de ecclesiasticis disciplinis et religione christiana, libri duo*, I.29: *Si missarum sollemnia non ante horam tertiam celebrentur* (PL 132, col.188).

In this chapter Walahfrid appears to be linking the times of the Mass to the hours of the daily office; but since he is writing a treatise for teaching parish priests, and is well aware of the diversity of needs of individual parishes, he is not concerned with presenting specific rules, and the times are more flexible, less precise: *ante meridiem ... circa nonam ... ad vesperam ... noctu*. However, embedded in the text of *De exordiis* are references to specific times of celebrating Mass which are applicable to this chapter: see comments below. This is strong evidence for suggesting that the chapters were not intended to be read in isolation.

Amalarius made a brief mention of Masses at dawn for John the Baptist and John the Evangelist in his *Liber officialis* (*Off.* IV.xl.7-8 [OLO

II.530-31]), and in the same work included a chapter, *De consueto tempore*, on the hours of three, six and nine at which Mass can be celebrated (*Off.* III.xlii [OLO II.378-80]). It is a topic that Rhabanus Maurus omitted altogether in *De institutione clericorum* (despite R. Reynolds [198], 76¹¹).

503.18 SECUNDUM RATIONEM SOLEMNITATUM: This phrase indicates a wide-ranging body of information about the time for celebrating Mass contained, for example, in ecclesiastical conciliar and synodal rulings, the LP, and local practice. Cp. *festorum ratio*, c.23:499.18, for a similar use of *ratio*.

503.19 ANTE MERIDIEM: See commentary c.21:493.34 *et ante meridiem collectas explebant*, a Maundy Thursday service which included the celebration of the Mass before midday, but note that it was a deviation from canon law, which required the Eucharist to be celebrated on the evening of that day.

503.19 CIRCA NONAM: Cp. c.20:493.1-3, Walahfrid's reference to the ruling of the 561 Council of Braga; the canon is quoted in the commentary on that passage.

503.19 NOCTU: Cp. c.23:496.1-2 *Thelesphorus natale Domini noctu missas celebrari constituit*.

503.20-23 THELESPHORUS ... ASSERITUR: As he does in c.19:491.28-29 *Euticianus... benedici*, Walahfrid quotes the LP verbatim as evidence for the origin of a liturgical practice in the decree of a 2nd-c. pope (Telesphorus's conventional dates are c.125-c.136). In fact, the choice of the third hour seems to have developed spontaneously in different regions (J. Jungmann [1951], 247-8). The LP's insistence that there should be no Mass *ante horae tertiae cursum* reflects Roman basilican practice in the early 6th c. However, that some confusion arose as to whether the Mass should be celebrated before, at or after the third hour

appears to be linked to two (?) early 9th-c. copies of a spurious correspondence between Damasus and Jerome on this matter; the MSS present two very different versions of the letters (R. Reynolds [1989], 73ff.).

Note that in *De exordiis* the occurrence of *cursum* (acc.) to mean the 'Divine Office' or the 'Liturgy of the Hours' is used only in this quotation from the LP.

503.24 CANONES OSTENDUNT: See e.g., c.475 *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* c.77: *Qui dominico die studiose ieiunat non credatur catholicus*; 506 Council of Agde c.12: *Placuit etiam ut omnes ecclesiae (filii) exceptis diebus dominicis, in quadragesima etiam die sabbati, sacerdotali ordinatione et districtionis comminatione ieiunent*; 567 Council of Tours, c.18: a very elaborate ruling on fasting, and c.19: fasting is imposed as a disciplinary measure (CCSL 148 A, 182-3); 581-83 Council of Maçon c.9: *Ut a feria sancti Martini usque natale Domini secunda, quarta et sexta sabbati ieiunetur et sacrificia quadragensimali debeant ordine caelebrari. In quibus diebus canones legendos esse speciali definitione sancimus, ut nullus se fateatur per ignorantiam deliquisse* (CCSL 148 A, 225). Cp. also c.21:494.26 *ferias ieiuniorum*.

503.23-24 UBI ... NECESSITAS: One could be compelled to fast for private reasons or a fast could be imposed as a penance.

503.26-27 NISI ... ADORNATUR: The vigils for Easter and Pentecost began on Saturday evening.

CHAPTER 25

As demonstrated in cc. 6, 7, 10 and 18, Walahfrid is interested in the etymology of liturgical words. In this chapter he examines both the linguistic and historical elements of sacred accoutrements; he continues with the development of ecclesiastical vestments. In addition, he draws one of his few analogies between the OT and NT.

The utensils which were used to contain the Eucharistic wine and bread and the vestments worn by clergy celebrating the *sacrificium*

altaris held great significance for early Christian writers. Not only were they concerns of early popes and ecclesiastical councils, but commentators on liturgical matters usually included remarks on the chalice, paten, ampulla and clothing. Isidore explored some of their linguistic roots (*ETYM* XIX.xxi-xxix *passim*, XX.v.5). Their allegorical and symbolic meanings were of prime importance: see e.g., the letters on the Gallican Liturgy formerly attributed to St. Germanus (c.496-576) but now convincingly demonstrated to have been written in the south of France c.700, *Epistula* I, 19a-c and *Epistula secunda*, 14-20 (*Expositio antiquae liturgiae gallicanae*, ed. E. Ratcliffe [1971], 11-12, 22-25); Germanus of Constantinople, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, 14-19, 39 (ed. P. Meyendorf [1984], 65-71, 87); Amalarius, *Off.* II.xv-xxvi (OLO II.236-254); Rhabanus Maurus: *De cler. inst.* I.14-23, (PL 107, cols.306-309). For a study of Carolingian analogies between the Israelite and the Christian sacerdotal vestments see J. Chydenius (1965), 58-61.

Walahfrid naturally assumes his reader's knowledge of the vocabulary for the vessels and vestments associated with worship. For modern literature on the subject see e.g., L. Duchesne (1919), 379-398; DLW s.v. Vestments; ODCC s.v. with bibliography; C. Vogel (1986), 213⁹⁴ for bibliography to 1975; CAP I, 188-95 and 212-13 with bibliography. Pre-Carolingian and Carolingian chalices and patens are preserved (or were preserved until their transfer to museums in modern times) in cathedral and church treasuries: for examples see V. Elbern (1965), plates 7-12; for chalices and one paten of insular manufacture see M. Ryan (1989), nos.61, 124-7. No Carolingian vestments appear to survive, but for a detailed description of the early 10th-c. Anglo-Saxon stole, maniple and girdle, gifts of King Athelstan to the shrine of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, see C.F. Battiscombe (1956), 375-525. For holdings of 9th-c. German monasteries and churches see B. Bischoff (1967), e.g., nos. 80 (Reichenau) and 81 (St. Gallen), pp.85-7.

503.29 CALICES: For references to *calix* in the LP see LP III.195 s.v. For Walahfrid's etymology of the German word, *chelih*, from the Latin, *calix*, see c.7:481.22-23.

503.29 PATENAE: For references to *patena* in the LP see LP III.218 s.v. In contrast, see the connection of *patena* through *passio* with *pati* in Pseudo-Germanus, *Expositio antiquae liturgiae gallicanae*; E. Ratcliff suggests the author's spelling of the word was *patina* (Ratcliff [1971], 11.I.19a).

503.29 CYLIX: See above, 503.29.

503.30 AMPULLA: Walahfrid is following Isidore's incorrect etymology here (*Etym.* XX.v.5); *ampulla* is the diminutive of *amphora*. An *ampulla* is a vessel for containing the holy oils. For a description of the blessing of the *ampullae* and their use at the ceremony of baptism, see L. Duchesne (1919), 305; see also ODCC s.v. *Ampullae* could also be the cruets in which the wine and water were carried to the altar (R. Reynolds [1982], 222-3).

503.30-31 ZEPHERINUS ... CONSTITUIT: Walahfrid summarizes a long and complex ruling of Pope Zepherinus (d.217); the reference here is to a bishop celebrating Mass (LP I, 139).

503.31 PATENIS VITREIS: Note also Jerome's reference to a glass chalice in his letter, *Ad Rusticum monachum*: 'Nothing is more sumptuous for him who carries the body of the Lord in a wicker basket, [His] blood in a glass [chalice]': *Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat vitro* (Ep. 125, ed. J. Labourt, p.133.)

503.31 URBANUS: Pope c.230.

503.34-504.1 BONIFACIUS ...CALICIBUS: I have been unable to find any source for this statement of St. Boniface (680-754), originally the Englishman, Wynfrith, 'Apostle of Germany', later the Archbishop of Mainz and martyr.

504.1-4 SILVESTER ... EST: Surely, (despite R. Davis [1989], 15) this a reference to the cloth on the altar at the time of the sacrifice, not to the vestment of the priest who is celebrating. For further references to altar cloths used during the sacrifice, see LP I.190²⁴; note that there are altar cloths used at other times, and coverings for the bread and wine.

504.3-4 IN SINDONE MUNDA: Walahfrid follows Mc 27.59 here instead of the LP account, *in sindonem lineam mundam* (LP I.171).

504.5-6 NAM ... PERHIBENTUR: I have as yet been unable to find any source for this statement; indeed, all early Eastern evidence demonstrates the use of special ecclesiastical vestments: see, e.g., the c.400 AD mosaic in Salonika and 6th-c. mosaics in Ravenna (J. Hayward [1970-71], figs.4-7).

504.6-8 STEPHANUS ... TANTUM: Does this ruling ascribed to Stephen (d.257) indicate that the liturgical vestments were so similar to everyday clothing that they were appropriate for daily wear? A ceremony of consecration would have set those vestments apart for ecclesiastical use, but there appears to be no evidence for such a liturgical action until the investiture ceremony which was part of the rite for ordination; see OR VIII. For a recent overview of the complexity of 6-9th-c. ordinations see CAP III, 151-164 with bibliography and references to M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*.

504.6-15 STEPHANUS ... VESTIANTUR: Walahfrid's unique, detailed history of the use of the dalmatic suggests there was a controversy on the subject at Reichenau and perhaps at related monasteries and churches. The difficulties of tracing the development of the dalmatic and chasuble have been explored in detail by M. Andrieu, (*Les Ordines Romani* IV, 132-39, 149-53); see also DACL IVi cols.111-19; for another version of the introduction of the dalmatic, see LP I, 189²¹.

[N.B. The dalmatic, originally worn by the noble class of Roman society, was a gown reaching to the feet made of white wool, linen, or

silk, and ornamented with two red or purple stripes running from the shoulder to the hem, front and back. The chasuble was the outermost vestment worn by the priest celebrating the Mass; it was originally a genuine everyday outer garment of Greco-Roman times, conical in shape, reaching close to the feet on all sides.]

504.9 PALLIO LINOSTIMO: This is another term for *mappula*, or manipule (504.21).

504.15-16 STATUTUM EST ... MISSAM: See 675 Council of Braga, c.3: *Ne sacerdos sine orario missam audeat celebrare* (J. Vives [1963], 374). See also commentary c.10:485.23 *primi ordines*.

504.16-23 ADDIDERUNT ... UTUNTUR: Although Walahfrid has presented a historical survey, albeit brief, of ecclesiastical vestments and has relied heavily on the LP and patristic precedents, his interpretation of their significance is characteristically Carolingian: for detailed comparisons between Amalarius, Rhabanus Maurus and Walahfrid's use of OT models in Exodus, see J. Chydenius (1965), 58-61. Additionally, cp. Rhabanus Maurus, *De veste ergo sacerdotali moderna ad antiquum Veteris Testamenti habitum comparisonem facientes, secundum majorum sensum quid mystice significat, prosequamur* (*De cler. inst.* I.xiv [PL 107, col.306B]) and Amalarius, *ut octo sint vestimenta secundum numerum vestimentorum summi pontificis Aaron ... habet summus pontifex noster, a capite usque ad pedes, octo vestimenta* (*Off.* II.xxii.3 [OLO II.247]).

504.19-22 NUMERO ... PALLIUM: This neat list of eight garments in OT and early 9th-c. use gives no hint of the diversity and frequent changes in the number and kinds of ecclesiastical vestments worn in the early middle ages. Compare, for instance, the variety of items in the treatises of Amalarius and Rhabanus Maurus (see references above in introduction to the commentary on this chapter). For an excellent historical survey of ecclesiastical clothing grouped according to function see SOL 488-492.

504.21-22 DALMATICA ... PALLIUM: See LP III.191-231 s.v. for references to some of the eight vestments; see also ODCC s.v. for brief descriptions of the items with recent references; and see the (probably) south German OR VIII, *De vestimentis pontificis*, for a mid- to late 9th-c. extended list of episcopal vestments.

504.21 MAPPULA: For the development and function of the 'maniple' in the early Middle Ages see J. Crehan (1966), 280-1, 283-4.

504.22 PALLIUM: Cp. LP I.189²². For the development of its use in the West see CAP I.190 with references.

504.23 PASTORES: Although generally a synonym for *sacerdos*, Walahfrid uses *pastor* for 'bishop' in the three occurrences in *De exordiis* (here, cc.26:508.17 and 27:509.23), an example of the versatility of Carolingian writers and their desire to extend the meanings of their Latin vocabulary.

CHAPTER 26

Despite the connection Walahfrid makes between his comments on the Mass in c.23 with these on the Liturgy of the Hours, there is little similarity between the two chapters. Walahfrid structured c.23 entirely on the organization of the Mass; however, he discusses the arrangement of the Liturgy of the Hours in only one paragraph towards the end of c.26. His primary concern in c.26 is with the history of hymnography, 'the collection of chants or songs that are neither canonical psalms nor biblical canticles, but enter into the celebration of the liturgy, especially the Liturgy of the Hours (hymns, troparia, antiphons, responses, etc.)' (CAP IV, 211).

Metrical and rhythmical hymns are characteristic of the Liturgy of the Hours in nearly all monasteries and churches in the early medieval west: for exceptions see commentary below, 506.6-8. For the clearest analysis of their metrical and rhythmical construction see D. Norberg

(1958), 64-135; see also R. Steiner (1980), 838-839. Bede was one of the earliest writers to discuss *rithmus* in *De arte metrica* I.xxiiii, 'De rithmo' (CCSL 123 A, 138). Significantly, the entire text of *De arte metrica* was copied into Walahfrid's commonplace book, St. Gallen MS 878, fols.91-131, by hand B, designated by Bischoff as belonging to Walahfrid's Fulda years, 827-829: see the Introduction, 14. For texts of hymns see *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, particularly volumes 50-52, and A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns with Introduction and Notes*; for melodies see *Monumenta monodica Medii Aevi* I, *Hymnen* (ed. B. Stablein); for a study of hymns from a literary viewpoint see J. Szöverffy (1964).

Walahfrid's interest in liturgical hymns appears to be a response to the enormous early 9th-c. increase in the number of hymns used in the Offices of both monasteries and some non-monastic churches. The liturgical centre had shifted from Rome to Francia: one indication of this is the emphasis which Carolingians placed on Roman authority and tradition to give weight to Frankish liturgical reform. Decisive liturgical assemblies at Aachen pressed for continuing standardization throughout the empire: this can be seen in the 809 assembly, the 816 decrees for canons and the 817 decrees for monks. As recounted in the 814 letter of Helisachar, arch-chancellor and abbot of several Benedictine houses, to his friend, archbishop Nibridius, reformed liturgical texts were available at Aachen for copying (MGH *Epp.* V, pp.307-309). MS evidence also points to the existence of a court *authenticum*, the common source of the verse texts of a New Hymnary: it has recently been argued that the Aachen court and chapel of Louis the Pious, over a period of time that included Walahfrid's residence there, played a part in the fuller development of a New Hymnary and its transmission to monasteries and secular churches: see D. Bullough and A. Corrêa (1990), 489-508.

Interest in every aspect of hymn-writing -- suitability of text to the occasion, authorship, melody, metre and performance -- would have

been intense; Walahfrid addresses all these features in c.26. His study of the development of hymnody is thorough, and because his source material is much the same as the material available today, it is comparable to modern histories of early hymn-writing: note the extraordinary similarity between Walahfrid's account of the development of hymnography (505.15-506.23) and that in, e.g., ODCC s.v. HYMN, 682; SOL 444-52; G. Cattin (1984), 17-20; CAP IV, 211-19.

On the other hand, as noted in the commentary, c.26 is a unique source for several different matters. Even so, this chapter appears to have had little interest for subsequent medieval authors. It exists only in the five copies of the entire book: for the MSS see the Prefatory Notes, viii.

504.24-25 CANONICARUM ... HORARUM: A commonplace phrase for the Liturgy of the Hours, it was apparently unknown before the 8th c. and may have been of Insular origin. It is used once by Bede, 'In Lucam V, ad XVIII.1' (CCSL 120, 322), frequently by Alcuin in his letters (*Epp.* nos 31, 40, 43, 65 [MGH *Epp.* IV], once by Arno of Salzburg in c.8 of his 'pastoral instruction' of (?) 798 (MGH *Conc.* II, 199), where Alcuin's influence may reasonably be supposed; cp. MLD which ignores all these examples. Benedict used *divinum officium* (RB c.8) and *divina opera* (RB c.16) in his rule. The use of *hora* to designate one of the services in the Office was common in the 6th c.: see RB cc.16, 17, 18; see also CAP IV, 233-55 *passim*.

504.27-505.15 IN VETERI ... CAUSIS: Liturgical historians still use the same sources today when developing the history of the Liturgy of the Hours: for an excellent overview see CAP IV, 153-89 with full bibliography.

504.29-505.3 DANIHEL ... DEBENT: Bodily postures are crucial to the expression of liturgical actions. 'The scientific study of a sign's

origins [here, the sign is the act of kneeling] can help to recover its meaning, especially since with the passage of time the sign may have been distorted and impoverished, or on the contrary, rendered more complex. In any case, liturgical signs are not arbitrary or conventional' (CAP I, 176). Although standing was the primary liturgical posture for the faithful, and characteristic of the paschal period (early treatises and rulings forbid kneeling on Sundays and the fifty days after Easter), prayer on one's knees has a place in the Christian tradition: it is specifically penitential as well as the position for ordinary and private prayer; on all this see F. Cabrol (1925), 80-82; CAP I, 181-2 with references.

504.33-34 DE BARTHOLOMEO ... GENU: In an account of Bartholomew's miracles a *daemon* describes Bartholomew: ... *Centies flexis genibus per diem, centies per noctem orat Deum* (*Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. V, 34).

504.36-7 CERTIS VICIBUS ET DINUMERATIS PER DIEM VEL NOCTEM: This appears to be a unique expression for the Liturgy of the Hours.

505.1 PUBLICA OFFICIA: For the complex and controversial issue of public and private liturgical actions see commentary 22:496.7-10 *in diebus ... explendae*.

505.1-2 CANONES LOQUUNTUR: See the Council of Sardica, c.1 (EOMIA I-II³ [1930], 536); Council of Carthage IV, c.82 (CCSL 149, 351).

505.3-5 HORAE ... CONFIRMENT: Although Walahfrid does not cite the patristic sources for the development of the individual Hours, modern literature provides long bibliographical lists: see SOL, 350-352; C. Vogel (1986), 215-16; CAP IV, 153-154.

505.9 CAENACULUM: Note that the Vulgate text of Acts 10.9 reads *in superiora*, translated in the D-R as 'the upper rooms of the house'.

505.11 YMNOS: Walahfrid uses *ymnus* here and 506.7 to mean simply a song of praise; see also Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, (PL 37, col.1947); Isidore, *Etym.* I.xxxix.17, VI.xix.17. Elsewhere Walahfrid

narrows his definition of *ymnus*: 'it should be remarked that not only were hymns sung which flow in [quantitative] metres or [accentual] rhythms' but some, such as psalms, do not (506.2-6); the *Gloria patri* is a hymn (506.13-16); see also above, pp. 238-9, in the introduction to this chapter.

505.14 THEODOSII SENIORIS: Emperor 379x95.

505.15-17 AMBROSIUS ... LENIVIT: Ambrose (d.397): cp. Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX.7 (CCSL 27, 141-142).

505.17-19 QUO ... COEPERUNT: See *Paolino di Milano, Vita di S. Ambrogio*, c.13 (ed. M. Pellegrino, 68). For Walahfrid's other references to antiphons see above, c.23:497.14-18 and below, 508.4.

505.19 HILARIUS QUOQUE PICTAVIENSIS YMNOS COMPOSUIT and 506.3 HILARIUS: Hilary (c.315-67) had composed hymns directed against the heresies of the Arians, but his excessively learned and complicated verses seem never to have been performed in a liturgical context: see J. Szövérfy (1964), 69-73; M. Curran (1984), 200 [n.5].

505.20 TRACTATUS: Walahfrid is here dependent on the LP, *Vita Gelasii*, although interestingly the word *tractatus* is only found in a variant version appended to MSS of Gennadius; see LP I, 257 [n.14] where the nature of the treatises is also discussed.

505.21 PSALMI: For a recent study of the development of the performance of monastic psalmody in the early Middle Ages, see J. Dyer (1989), 41-74.

505.22 MONASTERIA: This is the only occurrence of the word *monasterium* in *De exordiis*: cp. LP I, 231: *Hic* [sc. Pope Damasus (366x384) *constituit ut psalmos die noctuque canerentur per omnes ecclesias; qui hoc praecepit presbiteris vel episcopis aut monasteriis*.

505.23-33 IOHANNES ... FINITUM EST: See Cassiodorus, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, X.viii.1-4 (ed. R. Hanslik [1952], 595). For another quotation from the HE see c.20:492.18-26.

One must emphasize the 4th-c. Greek original of this passage of Cassiodorus which conditions the meanings of *antiphona*, *ymnus* and *cantus*: *ymnus* and *cantus* are synonyms for a general song of praise to the Lord; *antiphona* designates a *ymnus* or *cantus* shouted by two groups of people answering each other. This Greek source also affects the translation of *collecta*, 505.24 (translation, p. 112); see commentary c.21:493.34.

505.23 PRIMUS ... ORATIONES: There is a problem here with the translation of *primus auxit in nocturnis ymnis orationes*. The Latin indicates that John was the first to add prayers *in* night-time hymns, whereas in fact, he added night-time hymns *to* evening prayer services.

505.33 TRIPARTITA: The epithet *Tripartita* seems not to have been part of Cassiodorus's own title of the work: see *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, ed. R. Hanslik (1952), 1. The earliest evidence for the epithet seems to be the 'ab-script' MS (later at Corbie) Leningrad F.v.I 11; it is also in the post-Walahfrid St. Gallen catalogue: see MBDS I, 76 and 265.

505.34-506.2 DICENDUM ... ECCLESIAS: *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, X.viii.9 (ed. R. Hanslik [1952], 596). Note that by omitting the end of X.8 (*Nam dum ... decantare*) Walahfrid turns a digression (Ignatius's vision of the angels [X.9]) into an explanation of the origins of antiphonal singing. Walahfrid presented the origin of antiphons earlier in this chapter (505:18-19); cp. Rhabanus Maurus, *De cler. inst.*, II.50 (PL 107, col.363). This passage about Ignatius was often included in later liturgical collections and commentaries: a typical example is the 11th-c. Worcester Book, CCCC MS 265, 442.

505.37 DICEBANT: For the use of *dicere* for 'sing' see commentary c.23:497.14.

506.3 AMBROSIUS: For the problems of distinguishing hymns genuinely composed by Ambrose (c.339-97) see J. Sövérfy (1964), 48-68; the table on pp. 50-51 lists those which have been satisfactorily designated Ambrosian.

506.3 HILARIUS: See above, 505.19.

506.3 BEDA ANGLORUM PRESBYTER: At the end of his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (HE V.24) Bede gives a list of his own works including a *liber hymnorum diverso metro sive rhythmo*. A *liber hymnorum* no longer exists, but hymns were attributed to Bede as early as Alcuin's unpublished *De laude Dei*. For editions of Bede's hymns see W. Bulst's critical review of Fraipont's 1955 edition, CCSL 122, in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum* 89, 83-91; see also J. Szövérfy (1964), 169.

506.4 PRUDENTIUS HISPANIARUM SCOLASTICUS: For a collection of hymns of Prudentius (348xc.410) available to Walahfrid see the mid-9th-c. St. Gallen library catalogue: *Metrum Aurelii Prudentii libri VII in volume I* (MBDS I, 81); for a full survey see J. Szövérfy (1964), 78-94.

506.6-8 QUAMVIS ... DICUNTUR: Walahfrid appears to be making an oblique reference to the lack of metrical hymns in the Roman church which continued until the 12th c. Although the ruling of the 563 Council of Braga which forbade anything poetical to be sung in church was later condemned in Spain and Gaul (e.g., see the ruling of Toledo IV below: 506.9-21), the decree was followed at Rome and in some Gallican churches, such as Vienne and Lyons (P. Batiffol [1912], 138-140; M. Huglo [1980], 119). In the 7th c. the Irish church also included metrical hymns in the Liturgy of the Hours if ^{believes} one M. Curran (1984), 19-85, but other scholars would disagree.

506.8 TOLETANI ... CONCILII: Isidore presided over this Fourth Council of Toledo assembled in 633 to regulate various liturgical affairs.

506.9-21 ET ... ECCLESIASTICA: For the text of the Council of Toledo IV, c.13, see CVH, 196-7.

506.14 COTIDIE PUBLICO PRIVATOQUE OFFICIO: Cp. c.23:505.1, *publica officia* and c.26:506.26 *privatis missis*; for commentary see c.22:496.7-10.

506.19-21 **COMPONUNTUR ... ECCLESIASTICA:** Note the similarity to Walahfrid's reaction to the abolition of pictures and images in churches: c.8:483.29-36 *si enim edeo ... valeamus.*

506.20 **PRECES VEL ORATIONES:** For Walahfrid's important distinction between the two words, see commentary 23:498.23-25; the translation of *preces* as 'mass-set prayers' seems equally applicable in this 633 ruling.

506.21-23 **HIS ... ABICIENDA:** Walahfrid made his own contributions to the Carolingian hymn repertoire: see D. Norberg (1958), *passim*; J. Szövérfy (1964), 227-31. *Omnipotentem semper adorent*, (MGH *Poetae* II, 394-5) is a metrical paraphrase of the *Benedicite*, which precedes it in a fragment of a cantatorium, MS. Laon 266; for a brief reference to the hymn and its place in 9th-c. hymn-writing, see P. Jeffery (1982), 247.

Prozessionshymnen

1b. Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 909, Cantatorium aus Limoges (S. Martial) 11. Jh. (140 v-141) (in sabbato sancto) alia benedictio



11. Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 780, Graduale aus Narbonne, 12. Jh. (114 v) sabbato in XII lectionibus, statio ad s. Petrum, Benedictus



(Ed. B. Stablein, *Monumenta monodica Medii Aevi* II, 489-90).

[N.B. A cantatorium is a collection of the responsories (or gradu-als) sung between the epistle and Gospel at the Mass (see c.23:499.25-26), compiled for the use of the soloist whose job it was to lead the singing; a tract in this context is a chant of the Roman Mass, originally performed by a soloist immediately after the responsory, sung instead of the alleluia on the occasions when the latter might not be sung (during Lent, for example, or on Ember days as here).]

506.23-25 PORRO ... CONSUERUNT: In this context *Ambrosianis* can only be adjectival (not substantive as 506.31-2 and RB cc.9, 12, 13, 17). Walahfrid is therefore an early witness to the tradition which connected the distinctive rite of the Milan metropolitan area with St. Ambrose, a notion easily encouraged by the independent tradition of Ambrose's composition of hymns for use in the liturgy, and indeed for congregational singing; cp. 505.15-19.

Following Benedict, other parts of the Western church had restricted the use of hymns to the (monastic) Office. The earliest hymnaries other than the Ambrosian were for monastic use, subsequently extended to churches served by communities of canons.

Is Walahfrid's reference to hymns in the Mass, therefore, a continuation of his consideration of the Ambrosian rite, or a reference to a recent practice in the Frankish rite? Despite his awkwardness in developing the argument, the latter seems to be the case, notwithstanding continuing statements to the contrary, e.g., CAP I, 56. His example of Paulinus (c.726-802) which follows certainly justifies this interpretation.

506.25-27 TRADITUR ... CELEBRASSE: This passage is one of the few pieces of early evidence for Paulinus's authorship of liturgical hymns. The canon of his verse contains at least five which are acceptably so categorized, but in fact these are all for major feast days, the opposite of what Walahfrid tell us (J. Szövérfy [1964], 194): in the context of *De exordiis, privatis missis* indicates a secondary or minor Mass; see commentary 22:496.7-10. For a creative reconstruction of the *privata missa* celebrated in Paulinus's episcopal chapel see C. Vogel (1986), 207⁵⁶. The paucity of hymns genuinely attributable to Paulinus has concerned scholars for decades: see A. Wilmart (1922), 27ff; D. Norberg (1979), 12; P. Godman (1985), 26-27.

506.26-27 CIRCA IMMOLATIONEM SACRAMENTORUM: This well-known crux is the only early medieval occurrence of the phrase.

Walahfrid appears to be using an otherwise unknown tradition passed down from Paulinus about a half-century earlier to justify a controversial practice at Reichenau of inserting a hymn in the Mass at this particular point. Within the context of this passage, Walahfrid is referring to metrical or rhythmical hymns.

506.35-507.11 DICENDUM ... ITERANT: Walahfrid presents what appears to be a unique history of the *Gloria patri*; neither Rhabanus Maurus nor Amalarius have anything to say on its development. Even today its origins are shadowy; despite the title, *Doxology*, G. Wainwright (1980), does not address the origins or early practice of the *Gloria patri*.

The earliest witness to its insertion at the end of each psalm or group of psalms is John Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum* II.8, in Provence at the end of the 4th c. (ed. M. Petschenig, 72); see also RB cc.9, 43. For the connection of the *Gloria patri* with the psalmody in the Roman Mass see P. Jeffery (1984), 157 and [nn.59, 60]; see also CAP IV, 202-3.

506.38-40 GRECI ... COGNOSCUNTUR: For his probable sources for the Greek Rule, see the Reichenau library list: *regula Serapionis, Macharii et alterius Macharii ... Regula sancti Pachomii, quam angelo dictante conscripsit* (MBDS I, 251).

506.40-41 LATINI ... PRINCIPIO: See the 529 Council of Vaison II, c.5: *Et quia non solum in sede apostolica, sed etiam per totam Orientem et totam Africam vel Italiam propter hereticorum astutiam, qui Dei filium non semper cum patre fuisse, sed a tempore coepisse blasphemant, in omnibus clausulis post Gloriam: "Sicut erat in principio" dicatur, etiam et nos in universis ecclesiis nostris hoc ita dicendum esse decrevimus* (CCSL 148 A, 80).

506.41-507.2 PRO QUIBUS ... SUNT: I have been unable to trace any reference to this controversy.

507.5-6 AFFIRMANT ... PROLATUM: The text of the *Gloria patri* is not given in the 325 Nicene Council, but its content is contained in the Creed which became a statement of Nicene orthodoxy against the Arians whose principal heresy denied the true Divinity of Christ: see commentary c.23:499.32-500.2.

507.8-11 HUNC ... CANONICIS: Walahfrid cites three different placements of the *Gloria patri*: for a Spanish source for its placement at the end of all the psalms, see the 633 Fourth Council of Toledo, c.13: *illum ymnum [sc. Gloria et honor Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto in saecula saeculorum, amen] ab hominibus compositum, quem cotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmorum dicimus* (see above, 506.13-15); for its placement at the divisions of the longer psalms see the 589 Council of Narbonne, c.2: *Hoc itaque definitum est, ut in psallendis ordinibus per quemque psalmo gloria dicatur omnipotenti Deo; per maiores vero psalmos, prout fuerint prolixius, pausationes fiant, et per queque pausatione gloria trinitatis Domino decantetur* (CCSL 148 A, 254); for the statutes of Father Benedict see RB, e.g., c.9: ... *Duo responsoria sine 'Gloria' dicantur; post tertiam vero lectionem, qui cantat dicat 'Gloriam'; quam dum incipit cantor dicere, mox omnes de sedilia sua surgant ob honorem et reverentiam Sanctae Trinitatis* (A. Amelli, (1900), fol.26); for a less strict use of the *Gloria patri* at the end of responsories see Toledo IV, c.16: *Sunt quidam in finem responsoriorum Gloriam non dicant, propter quod interdum inconvenienter resonat. Sed haec est discretio, ut in laetis sequatur Gloria, in tristioribus repetatur principium* (CVH, 198); for the arrangement at (?)Metz see Amalarius, *Off. IV.xx.2* (OLO II.467); for the Roman arrangement see, e.g., Amalarius, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii XVII* (OLO III.55).

[N.B. *responsorium* in this context (cp. c.23:499.25 *responsoria*) is a short response read after a reading of Holy Scripture in an Office: see RB cc.9-13, 15; the following extract from the letter of Helisachar (see

above, introduction to c.26) helps to clarify its early 9th-c. use at the Aachen chapel:

... we frequently met to celebrate the Divine Office together at the evening Hours, and the reading of Holy Scripture made our spirit serene; but as you used to say, the responsories, which were devoid of meaning and good sense, and the versicles, which were made to fit some of the responsories improperly by our cantors and yours, in many respects obscured your mind. You charged me with the commission of applying skilful study to the best of my ability so that I might hunt for suitable versicles in the meadows of Holy Scripture and arrange [them] in the appropriate places, in [those] responsories which are filled with meaning and good sense.

... frequenter una nocturnis horis ad divinum celebrandum offitium conveniremus, animumque nostrum sacrae scripturae lectio serenum efficeret; sed ut referre solebatis responsoria auctoritate et ratione carentia, versusque qui in quibusdam responsoriis a nostris vestrisque cantoribus inconvenienter aptabantur, animum vestrum magna ex parte obnubilarent, mihi imperando iniunxeritis, ut adhibito sollerti studio pro captu ingenii in divinarum scripturarum pratis versus convenientes indagarem et in responsoriis auctoritate et ratione refertis, congruis in locis aptarem (MGH Epp. V, 307-309).

E. Bishop presents an exceptionally clear discussion of the problems facing Helisachar: see Bishop (1918, rpt. 1964), 332-348. For a liturgical discussion of responsories within the context of musical performance, see G. Cattin (1984), 88, 90; M. Huglo (1988), 25-7.

507.13-15 DEUS ... PRAEMITTENDUM: But see RB c.9: *Hiemis tempore suprascripto, inprimis versu tertio dicendum, 'Domine labia mea aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam'*; Amalarius Off. IV.ix.1, Ant. I.i (OLO II.442; III.19).

507.17-19 IN AGENDIS ... DECRETO: This is the earliest reference to the omission of *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* and *Gloria patri* in Requiem Masses and during Passiontide (J. Jungmann [1951], 328).

507.23 AUDITURIS: Note the unique reference to listeners, those for whom he is writing; this is a clear indication that the text was read aloud. Walahfrid's vocabulary occasionally conveys the didactic purpose of *De exordiis*: cp. commentary c.1:476.9.

507.23-24 OMITTAM ... AFFIRMANS: Even today a complete study of the varied forms of the Liturgy of the Hours has yet to be found in a

single source; but for an excellent brief overview see CAP IV, 233-251 with bibliography.

507.30-508.2 IN TANTUM ... APPARET: This interesting passage may shed new light on the musical gifts of Gregory III. As Walahfrid illustrates, the LP clearly felt that expertise in plainchant and psalmody was worthy of mention: Hormisdas (514-23): *Hic composuit clerum et psalmis erudit;* Leo II (682-3): *cantelena ac psalmodia praecipuus et in earum sensibus subtilissima exercitatione limatus;* Benedictus II (684-5): *se in divinis Scripturis et cantilena a puerili etate et in presbiterii dignitate exhibuit;* Sergius I (687-701): *quia studiosus erat et capax in officio cantelenae, priori cantorum pro doctrina est traditus* (LP I, 269, 359, 363, 371).

[N.B. *cantilena* designates specific sung texts such as *orationes*, *antiphonae* and *responsoria* (508.4-5): see commentary 23:496.22; *psalmodia* designates the chanting or intoning of the psalms. Two separate methods for their performance were stipulated in the 816 Decrees for Canons:

For indeed in church let the psalms not be recited hastily and by high and irregular or intemperate voices, but evenly and distinctly and with compunction of heart, so that both the mind of those reciting may be nourished by [their] delightfulness and the ears of those listening may be allured by [their] delivery, since, although the style of plain-chant in the other [parts] of the liturgy is accustomed to be performed by a high voice, nevertheless in the reciting of psalms a voice of this kind must be avoided.

Psalmi namque in ecclesia non cursim et excelsis atque inordinatis seu intemperatis vocibus, sed planae ac dilucidae et cum compunctione cordis recitentur, ut et recitantium mens illorum dulcedine pascatur et audientium aures illorum pronuntiatione demulceantur, quoniam, quamvis cantilenae sonus in aliis officiis excelsa soleat edi voce, in recitandis tamen psalmis huiusmodi vitanda est vox (MGH Conc. II, 414). Note that *planae* and *dilucidae* are grammatically incorrect: should be *plane* and *dilucide*.

Note that Walahfrid does not use any phrase in *De exordiis* that can designate the familiar but inaccurate term, 'Gregorian chant': see also above, commentary c.23:496.22.

Memorizing the psalter, however, was not *inauditum et novum*; it was inevitable among those who chanted those words in their entirety once each week throughout a lifetime. Therefore, Walahfrid's interpretation of the LP's account of Gregory III must signify something more. The LP reads, 'memorizing all the psalms throughout the arrangement [sc. the Liturgy of the Hours], he was also accurate in their [(?)correct musical settings] by the most precise practice': *psalmos omnes per ordinem memoriter retinens et in eorum sensibus subtilissima exercitatione limatus* (LP I, 415). For the similarity between this passage and that in the account of Leo II (see above, 507.35-36), see Duchesne's comment, LP I, [n.1] 421.

No answer has been offered, but it could mean that Gregory memorized the psalter and its musical repertory which varied from feast to feast during the year. Although the psalms were always chanted in the same order, they were not always sung in the same mode with the same melodic formula; these were variable. Gregory's extraordinary gift may have been, not that he memorized all the psalms, but all the psalms *in eorum sensibus*.

The question of chanting *psalmodia* and *cantilena* from memory is crucial to the history of the development of musical notation, but it is not relevant to the theme of this thesis: for an excellent recent account see G. Cattin, (1984), 48-60 with bibliography.

508.1-2 QUOD SI ... APPARET: Cp. RB c.9: *Post hos lectio apostoli sequatur ex corde recitanda*, c.10: *sed pro ipsis tribus lectionibus una de Veteri Testamento memoriter dicatur*, c.12: *lectio de Apocalypsi una ex corde*, c.13: *deinde lectio una apostoli memoriter recitanda*; see also Reginbert's library list: *et hymni ad divers ... tam dominicis quam privatis diebus et hymni festis diebus per circulum anni et lectiones memoriter recitandae* (MBDS I, 261.3).

508.2-5 ORDINEM ... COMPOSUERINT: Walahfrid gives little credibility to Gregory's composition of the material in the Antiphonary;

for the enormous problems this Antiphonary has caused modern liturgists, see commentary on c.23:500.16-19.

508.3-4 SICUT ... LIBRO: See above c.23:498.33-38.

508.5 DE ANTIPHONARUM ... DIXIMUS: See above, the commentaries on 505.17-19 and 505.34-506.2.

508.6 RESPONSORIA ... TRADUNTUR: See Isidore *De eccl. off.* I.viii (PL 83, col.744) and *Etym.* VI.xix.8; cp. Rhabanus Maurus, *De cler. inst.*, II.51 (PL 107, col.363).

508.7-10 QUIA ... FATENTUR: Music of the Gallican rite is of considerable liturgical interest, and Gallican practice is defined primarily by contrast with Roman usage. Walahfrid is the only writer to present important evidence for the difference in both words and melody in Gallican and Roman chant at a time when there was still no musical notation: 'though for Walahfrid Strabo (825/30) [*sic*: there is a long tradition of this incorrect date; see above in the Introduction, (n.90)] Gallican pieces were recognisable "by the words and by the sound" (*verbis et sono*), it is difficult for us to identify the "sound" of Gallican melody' (G. Cattin [1984], 46). For Walahfrid's significant contribution to the understanding of the music of the Gallican rite, see M. Huglo, a musicologist interested in liturgy, (1980), 113-125, esp. 115, 117, 119.

508.10-14 SED ... DOCTRINA: Liturgical standardization was consistently put forth as an accomplished reality, when in fact overwhelming evidence reveals that within the unity of faith and doctrine, diversity and inconsistency of practice was the norm: see, e.g., this very treatise and Amalarius, *Prologus antiphonarii*, X-XIII (OLO I.362-3).

508.14-21 EST ... VIDETUR: Here is unique evidence for another contemporary controversy (see, e.g., cc.19:491.37-492.3 and 23:500.19-26). The 816 decrees for canons stipulated that they must observe the Offices: see the Aachen Council, c.131 (MGH *Conc.* II, 408). However, nothing was included to restrict the observance to the RB; on the con-

trary, see c.126: *Excerptum ex libro officiorum Isidore, qua auctoritate horae canonicae celebrentur, quas scire ac religiose observare canonicos oportet* (MGH *Conc.* II, 406). Bishops in Walahfrid's area appear to have established a Rule other than the RB for their canons. Rhabanus Maurus also addressed this controversy in *De oblatione puerorum: Incipit opusculum Rababi Mauri contra eos qui repugnant institutis b. p. Benedicti* (PL 107, cols. 419-440).

Neither of Walahfrid's arguments, however, are relevant to the use of the RB. Roman churches had no need to say the Liturgy of the Hours: the monasteries attached to them provided monks to say the Office (P. Batiffol [1912], 46-57). In this well-known passage from the *Dialogi* (*Dialog.* II.36, [ed. A. de Vogüé, 243]) Gregory was simply describing the virtues of Benedict, not making comparisons between monasteries and churches. Walahfrid is stretching his use of Roman authority here, and is again using Gregory as a historical authority in the manner of the Antiphonary (cc.23:500.19 and 26:508.2-5) and the Sacramentary (c.23:498.33-38).

508.27-28 EMENDATIONEM ... CANTANT: Walahfrid correctly describes the Gallican psalter: see also the Introduction, 37.

508.29-30 QUAM GREGORIUS ... TRANSTULISSE: This statement is apparently unique to Walahfrid; his source is unknown.

508.31-34 STEPHANUS ... CONVALUIT: Walahfrid is one of only two sources for Pepin's liturgical reforms coinciding with Pope Stephen II's residence in *Francia*: the other is the *Libri carolini* (C. Vogel [1986], 149). Walahfrid's written source was presumably one of the Frankish ones, e.g. *Annales Regni Francorum*, although the connection with the visit and liturgical change (otherwise only in the LC which he certainly did not know [see commentary c.8.483.1-3,]), refers to oral tradition at court.

508.32 IUSTITIA SANCTI PETRI: This technical phrase occurs in papal letters of the period and in some Frankish texts, although (surprisingly) not in the LP; see E. Caspar (1914), 17-18, 174-75.

508.33 CLERICOS: See commentary c.7:481.27.

CHAPTER 27

Walahfrid explores briefly the history and meaning of baptism as well as the history of the ceremony itself. He condenses and synthesizes the traditional teaching of the Fathers, noting the prefiguring of the NT by the OT. However, he is less concerned with the ceremony than the circumstances surrounding it: consistent with his prose preface, he fills in the material earlier texts have omitted.

C.27 is important evidence for establishing who the reader was for whom Walahfrid was writing: it is a concise manual for teaching priests both the history of baptism and their duties in circumstances where no bishop was available and where their missionary role would play an important part, most likely in outlying rural churches. Walahfrid has simplified instruction by including within the text the legal material relevant to the conditions for baptism. Despite such convenience, like c.26, this chapter survives only in the five complete copies of *De exordiis*. Except for theologians (especially in periods of radical reform) the early history and circumstances of baptism have been of little interest until the present century: see, e.g., SOL 79-116; J. Lynch (1986), esp. 3-16; A. Angenendt (1987), 275-321; CAP III, 11-67; for references to sources see below, 509.34-36.

This chapter appears to have little or nothing in common with baptismal texts found in at least 61 MSS, not even with Keefe's TEXT 42 which comes from the archdiocese of Mainz and includes Reichenau in the diocese of Constance (S. Keefe [1983], 169-237, esp. 208). The most popular model for the Carolingian composers of baptismal instructions was

the brief description of the entire *ordo* of baptism contained in two letters of Alcuin: nos.134 and 137 (MGH *Epp.* IV, 202-3 and 214-5); Keefe inconveniently coalesces the MS tradition of the two letters (Keefe [1983], 184). Rhabanus Maurus explores the meaning of the baptismal ceremonies, *De cler. inst.* I.25-30 (PL 107, cols.309-316; S. Keefe [1983], 209). Amalarius also explores their meaning, with surprisingly little allegorical exposition, in his answer to Charlemagne's c.812 questionnaire on baptism (*Epist. Amalarii de baptismo*, OLO I.235-51; S. Keefe [1983], 196).

The Carolingians saw baptism in a legislative context, the result of Charlemagne's educational reforms for the clergy and the spread of Christianity throughout the Frankish empire. In this chapter Walahfrid includes a far greater number of citations from or references to ecclesiastical councils and papal decretals than in the rest of the book: he makes 17 conciliar and decretal citations and 3 references to support baptismal practices; spread over 15 other chapters of *De exordiis* are 22 citations and 10 references. The baptismal tracts in Keefe's list were found within or beside canonical collections, episcopal capitularies, liturgical commentaries, etc. I have noted in the commentary only those editions of councils and decretals that have superseded those cited by Krause.

508.35 PRAEFIGURATUM and 508.36 PRAESIGNATUM: For Walahfrid's infrequent use of allegorical vocabulary in *De exordiis* see commentary c.15:489.27.

508.35-36 QUOD ... IORDANIS: The typological interpretation is stated explicitly in Toledo IV (a.633), c.6: *Mare quippe Rubrum significat bap̃tismum Christi sanguine consecratum, per quem populus Dei semel transiit ... Iordanis quoque fluēta quum arca populus Dei semel transiit, per quos significatur simpla mersio bap̃tismatis, cuius*

sacramento ecclesia abluitur, et de seculi huius laboribus per baptismum quasi per Iordanem ad terram coelestis repromissionis ingreditur (CVH, 192-3).

508.37 INITIO NOVAE GRATIAE: Walahfrid's use of this phrase for 'the beginning of the Christian era' is an indication of the theological undertones of his consideration of baptism; *gratia* occurs several times in this chapter: here, 509.21, 511.25, 512.1, 3, 4, 8; see the Introduction, 23 for his incorporation of the theology of grace in *De exordiis*.

509.2 AQUA: Stipulated by Christ, water was the oldest and most significant symbol of baptism (Jn 3.5). See commentary c.30 for Walahfrid's unique topological use of baptismal water (pp. 267-9).

509.12-17 SCIENDUM ... VIA: Walahfrid makes a similar comparison with the simplicity of the Mass in *primis temporibus*, c.23:496.27.

509.17-20 SICUT ... CREVIT: Cp. cc.23:496.31-4 and 26:507.26-30.

509.20-31 ADDIDERUNT ... DECRETA: This long passage which delegates anointing with the chrism to bishops except in emergency, reflects a long (and apparently a continuing) controversy between Roman and other usage: see LP 189¹⁹ for the 6th-c. argument; ODCC s.v. CHRISM, 277 for a brief summary.

509.26 DECRETA INNOCENTII PAPAE: *Nam presbiteris seu extra episcopum, sive praesente episcopo cum baptizant, chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab episcopo fuerit consecratum, non tamen frontem ex eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur episcopis cum tradunt Spiritum Paracletum* (R. Cabiè [1973], 24); for commentary on this decree see c.23:502.18.

509.26 STATUTA SILVESTRI: *Hic et hoc constituit ut baptizatum liniret presbiter chrisma levatum de aqua, propter occasionem transitus mortis* (LP I. 171); note Walahfrid's omission of *levatum de aqua*.

509.29-30 QUIA ... SALVUS: Council of Elvira (a.300-(?)306) c.77: LXXVII. *De baptizatis qui nondum confirmati moriuntur. Si quis diaconus*

regens plebem sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptdiaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debebit. Quod si ante de seculo recesserint, sub fide quo quis credidit poterit esse iustus (CVH, 15).

509.31-36 ALII ... DEMONSTRANT: Note that Walahfrid makes no distinction between the liturgical actions for the preparation for baptism and for the sacrament of baptism itself: see CAP III, 20-50.

509.32 SALIS VEL SALIVAE INFUSIONEM: Cp. *Epist. Amalarii de baptismo, De sale, De tactu narium et aurium* and *Recapitulatio* (OLO I.243, 244, 246).

509.33 SCRUTINIA: Scrutinies were formal testings to which catechumens, those preparing for baptism, were subjected during the weeks before their baptism.

509.34-36 MULTA ... DEMONSTRANT: For sources known to Walahfrid see the citations throughout this chapter; for modern references to early sources see CAP III, 17-20; C. Vogel (1986), 164-66, 213-14.

509.36-510.1 CAELEBRATUR ...DOCENT: For commentary on *Canones Apostolorum* see c.19:491.20-26.

510.1-10 UNDE ... MYSTERIIS: The reconciliation of heretics had a long and complex history with preference sometimes given to unction, sometimes to the laying on of hands. Walahfrid's inclusion of both may reflect a local practice; for a full account see L. Duchesne (1919), 339-41 with references.

510.5-6 HOC ... HABETUR: Cp., e.g., 314 Council of Arles, c.9 (CCSL 148, 10).

510.11-12 CONCILIO ... PERMITTITUR: Cp. 305/6 Council of Elvira, c.38 (CVH, 8).

510.16-17 IN CONCILIO ... BAPTIZARE: See 436 Council of Carthage IV, c.100: *Mulier baptizare non praesumat* (CCH III, 373).

510. 29-30 ALII ... BAPTIZATUM: There is no Biblical source for the connection between the Baptism of Christ and Epiphany, but Epiphany

was celebrated in the East in honour of the Lord's Baptism from the 3rd c. onwards. ^{When} introduced into the West in the 4th c., Epiphany became associated ^{particularly} with the

manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles in the persons of the Magi, but Christ's baptism figures later in both Office and Mass texts.

511.2-3 ALII ... HABETUR: Chapter 50 of the Apostolic Canons does not indicate that three immersions signify the three days Christ spent in the sepulchre: *Si quis episcopus aut presbiter non trinam personam unius mysterii celebret, sed semel mergat in baptismate quod dari videtur in morte Domini, deponatur. Non enim dixit nobis Dominus 'In morte mea baptizate', sed 'euntes docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti'* (EOMIA Iii, 32)

511.5-14 IN CONCILIO ...DESIGNARI: Tolerance of diversity such as Gregory's was not always characteristic of the early Carolingian period. Contrasting with Walahfrid's moderate view of the use of both single and triple immersions is that of Alcuin who single-mindedly championed the ceremony of triple immersion. Alcuin believed that by insisting on triple immersion he was following what had always been the tradition of the Roman church. He chose to reject the authenticity of Gregory's letter because it was not to be found in the abridged collection of letters which had been sent to him from Rome (MGH *Epp.* IV, 215 [no. 137]). For Alcuin's place in the controversy over triple and single immersion see G. Ellard (1956), 68-85 and D.A. Bullough (1983b), 41-48, esp. 48¹¹¹ though both will require modification of detail in the light of S. Keefe's collection of material (Keefe [1983], 169-237 and [1986], 48-89).

511.15 HERETICI: *Heretici* are the Arians who denied the true Divinity of Jesus Christ and used triple immersion to designate the three separate natures of God, as opposed to the catholic view of the coeternity and coequality of the Father and the Son.

511.17-20 SI ENIM ... APPLICARINT: Cp. cc.8:483.29-36 and 26:506.20.

511.20-24 NOTANDUM ... PATITUR: *Mergere* and *tingere* are evidence for the submersion of the baptismal candidate. *Minores vasa* imply the existence of *maiores vasa* in which a mature person could be totally submersed. There is nothing here to indicate the form of immersion (as distinct from submersion) whereby part of the candidate's body was placed in a basin and the baptismal water poured over the remainder. Primitive pictorial evidence and the measurements of surviving baptismal fonts suggest that total immersion was not common practice in the early Church; this passage in c.27 has been cited as evidence for the change to the practice of submersion in the Carolingian period (C.F. Rogers [1903], 239-61).

511.20-21 DESUPER FUNDENDO: Affusion, pouring water over the head of the baptismal candidate, was an alternative to immersion from earliest times (C.F. Rogers [1903], 239-61).

511.22 IN PASSIONE ... BAPTIZATUM: In a baptismal ceremony Laurence (d.258) blesses the water and *fudit (aquam) super caput eius* (*Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 51, 86 [c.20]); the *Vita et passio Laurentii* is listed in both St. Gallen and Reichenau library lists (MBDS I, 78 and 259).

511.24-512.14 NOTANDUM ... POSSUNT: Walahfrid's dogmatic originality concerning the grounds for the baptism of children stems from Biblical authority on original sin: it is not the age of the baptizand but the universality of sin which necessitates baptism of all mortals, regardless of age. For a full consideration of his development of this dogma see J. de Ghellinck (1939), 481-486.

511.28-32 REFERT ... POTUISSET: This is an example of Walahfrid's particular gift of synthesis and clarity. Note that his use of Augustine as an authority is very different from his legalistic use of the authority of Councils, Decretals and the LP.

Augustine exemplifies an adult's conscious choice of baptism; a probationary stage for the catechumenate was normal and could be

prolonged as long as a person wished (L. Duchesne [1919], 292). Fourth-century theology emphasized the difficulty of the remission of sins committed after baptism; the emperors Constantine and Constantius continued their catechumenate until they were at the point of death.

512.1 IUSTIFICATI GRATIS: Cp. commentary c.17:490.14.

512.4-5 HERETICI ... PECCASSENT: This is an echo of anti-Pelagian polemic. Walahfrid is referring to the practice of those Pelagians who, although followers of the rejection by Pelagius (late 4th, early 5th c.) of original sin in infants, opposed his approval of infant baptism. See Augustine's reaction against this heresy, *De peccatorum meritis ... et de baptismo parvulorum*, Lib. I.16-18, 28.

512.8 DELICTO: Note this single occurrence of *delictum* in *De exordiis*.

512.11 ALIORUM ... PLURIMA: See, for example, the Council of Gerona c.5 (CVH, 40) .

512.11-22 EX HAC ... SUSCEPERUNT: Until the Carolingian period there had been little or no interest in the historical origins and contemporary significance of baptismal sponsorship. Walahfrid is one of the earliest writers concerned with the theological justification and responsibilities of godparents. Jonas, bishop of Orléans (818-843), refers to sponsors of infants as other than the natural parents, *De institutione laicali* I.8 (PL 106, col.135). Rhabanus Maurus makes no mention of infant baptism in *De cler. instit.* Amalarius refers to infant baptism, but not to godparents (*Epist. Amalarii de baptismo*, OLO I.236-51). The early history of baptismal sponsorship has recently been thoroughly studied by J. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (1986).

512.12 PATRINI VEL MATRINAE: These are neologisms obviously built on the Latin terms for father (*pater*) and mother (*mater*); they had emerged in Frankish Gaul by the 8th c. (J. Lynch [1986], 170-71).

512.15 AD INTELLEGIBILEM PERVENERIT AETATEM: Note the similarity to RB c.63: *ad intelligibilem aetatem perveniant* (ed. R. Hanslik [1952], 148 and ed. A. Amelli [1900], f.76^v). R. Hanslik's apparatus here offers no help in determining Walahfrid's MS of the RB; for a more detailed commentary on the early transmission of MSS of the RB see c.11:486.5.

512.19-22 NON AUTEM ... SUSCEPERUNT: 813 Council of Mainz, c.55: *Ne proprius filius de baptismo suscipiatur. LV. Nullus igitur proprium filium ve filiam de fonte baptismatis suscipiat nec filiolum nec commatrem ducat uxorem nec illam, cuius filium aut filiam ad confirmationem dixerit. Ubi autem factum fuerit, separentur* (MGH Conc. II, 273).

512.22 COMPATERNITATIS: *Compaternitas* is the relationship between the natural parents of a child and that child's godparent, their co-parenthood. This relationship, which, it has been argued, was one of the major forces shaping personal behaviour in Frankish culture, has been largely ignored in historical studies of baptism; for a detailed study of the development of *compaternitas* see J. Lynch (1986), *passim*, but esp.5-6, 74, 192-201, 206-208; for the complexities *compaternitas* brings to sexual relationships see J. Lynch (1986), 219-57.

512.22-26 BAPTIZANDI ... POTUERINT: For further examples of solving the problem of baptizing adults who are unable to speak on their own behalf, see J. Lynch (1986), 121 and [n. 13].

512.26-27 MORTUIS ... CONCILIO: See *Hispana* c.6: *ut mortuis baptismus vel eucharistia non detur* (CCSL 149, 330).

512.27-32 QUAMVIS ... LABORARE: The apostle Paul writes in his first letter to the Christians at Corinth (I Cor 15.29): 'Otherwise, what shall they do that are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not again at all? Why are they then baptized for them?' What this practice was is unknown: Paul does not say if he approved of it or not; he uses it merely for an *ad hominem* argument.

I have found no other reference to the practice of giving the Eucharist for the dead; there is a fine line, however, between the Eucharist being given in memory of someone and being given for someone.

CHAPTER 28

A chapter on the giving of tithes seems to be an anomaly in a liturgical history; its very presence, however, strengthens the argument for *De exordiis* being a treatise for teaching missionary priests caring for rural parishes. The long-established practice of the giving of tithes (a tenth of all of a person's wealth) to God and His priests, was an obligation of all Christians; Walahfrid supports a system of universal tithing that is theologically and canonically sound, and addresses three specific areas of controversy: to whom are tithes due? should Christians give more than the Jewish tithe? should there be a three or a four part division of tithes? Although using canonical statutes as sources for the legality of tithing, its use and its partition, his role is that of an ecclesiastical historian, neither a politician nor an economist. First mentioned in Frankish sources in the 779 capitulary of Herstal, c.7 (MGH *Capit.* I, 48), tithing was of general concern in the Carolingian period: for other comments on the use and division of *decima* see, e.g., Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Via Regia* XII (PL 102, col.953); Jonas of Orléans, *De institutione laicali* II.19 (PL 106, col.205).

Tithing in the early middle ages was a controversial and complex matter: the issues are wide-ranging and fundamental to Christian obligation as well as to economic practice; however, documentary evidence for its origins and early use is scanty, leaving the subject open to conflicting interpretations of its development. Only those aspects which are relevant to this chapter are examined here; for a general summary see ODCG, s.v. TITHES, 1380; for a detailed study of tithing from its inception up through the Carolingian era see G. Constable (1964), 1-56, 57-83

passim with full bibliographical references; see also F.L. Ganshof (1971), 94-5, 119-20.

In the 20th c. considerable interest has been expressed in monastic tithes. On this count Walahfrid is silent; his concern is with the *sacerdotes* and the *ministri ecclesiae*. Further inferences could perhaps be drawn from links between monasteries and rural *ecclesiae* under their jurisdiction, but not within the limits of this thesis.

512.34 OMNES ... COMMEMORANT: See, e.g., Cassian, *Conlationes*, c.XXI.2-3 (CSEL 13, part II, ed. M. Petschenig, 574-5); Pope Zachary's letter of 748 (MGH *Epp.* III, 365). The earliest conciliar texts referring to tithes are the 567 Council at Tours, *Epistula episcoporum provinciae Turonensis ad plebem* (CCSL 148 A, 198) and the 585 Council of Maçon II, c.5 (CCSL 148 A, 241); on all this see G. Constable (1964), 21-31 *passim* for further references.

512.38-513.6 AUGUSTINUS ... NOVEM: See Caesarius of Arles, *Sermon* 33 (CCSL 103, 142-7). This sermon of Caesarius of Arles (470-452) was universally attributed to Augustine in the Middle Ages; because it was so widely copied, its MS history is a complex one: see G. Constable (1964), 134.

513.6-9 CUM ITAQUE ... SACRAMENTORUM: This passage could be cited as evidence for the 'ninth' or *nona*: see F. Ganshof (1971), 95 for civil use of the *nona*, and G. Constable (1964), 206 for its charitable use. After Christians had given their *decima* to the church, they were to give to charity from the remainder, from the *nona*; cp. *Pauli Warnefride diaconi Casinensis in sanctam regulam commentarium*, ed. Monte Casino, 418-419. However, Walahfrid simply appears to be exhorting more enthusiasm for Christian giving.

513.7 RUTA VIDELICET, MENTA ET CYMINO: Walahfrid lists a unique combination of herbs that could be attributed to his memory; cp. Mt

23.23: *mentam et anethum et cyminum* and Lc 11.42: *mentam et rutam et omne holus*.

513.10-16 IDEO ... PROFICIAT: Walahfrid gives four uses for tithes, the first based on theological grounds, the last three on statutory decree. He stated the first two in the opening sentence of this chapter, but here he justifies them theologically and practically. Canonical rulings on the division of tithes between the clergy, the poor and the fabric of the church are many, diverse and problematic; see G. Constable (1964), 19-56.

513.11 SICUT SUPERIUS OSTENDIMUS: See above, 513.5.

513.14-15 MUNUS ... IMMOLETUR: For Walahfrid's account of the development of a daily Eucharist see c.21 *Quod alii rarius, alii crebrius, alii cotidie communicandum dicunt*.

513.16-18 QUATTUOR ... SERVETUR: Walahfrid moves on from a justification of the use of the *decima* to an authoritative statement on the quadripartition of the *decima*. Tripartition of the tithe was also ruled by canonical decree: the division varied between the clergy, the poor and the fabric of the church and the bishop, the clergy and the fabric of the church (511 Council of Orléans I, c.5 [CCSL 148 A, 6]; 655 Council of Toledo IX, c.6 [CVH, 301]). However, since quadripartition was the Roman division (see, e.g., *Capitula ecclesiastica* of Haito bishop of Basel [806-23], c.15 [MGH *Capit.* I, 364]), it is not surprising to find Walahfrid supporting it. Others sources for quadripartition are Gelasius, *Epistola ad episcopos per Lucaniam*, c.27, (Mansi VIII, col.45); Pope Zachary's letter of 748 (MGH, *Epp.* III, 365); for further analysis see G. Constable (1964), 43³.

513.18 CLERICORUM: See commentary c.7:481.27.

CHAPTER 29

This history of the performance of litanies, either festive or penitential prayerful processions, adds nothing new to our knowledge of

their development. Litanies are solemn supplications that are motivated by some striking event and are experienced as especially intense moments of liturgical life. The Major Rogation of 25 April is generally regarded as 'a Christianized version of the pagan observance of the "Robigalia", which took the form of processions through the cornfields to pray for the preservation of the crops from mildew' (ODCC, s.v. ROGATION DAYS, 1193); it is believed to have been observed from an early date: see D. de Bruyne, (1922), 14-26, esp. 14-18. Walahfrid has confused this very early rogation and the associated processional litanies with the extraordinary litany of 590, the account of which he had found (as he says) in Paul the Deacon's 8th-c. *Historia Langobardorum*, III.24 (MGH *SS rer. Germ.*, 128-9) which is itself no more than a summary of Gregory of Tours's 6th-c. *Historia Francorum*, X.1 (MGH *SS rer. merov.*, 477-481). Interestingly Amalarius, when he first wrote about the Roman one-day litany, held on 25 April, (*Off.* I.xxxvii.6 [OLO II.178-181]), had nothing to say on its origins, but subsequently in the light of Gregory the Great's *Epistolae Appendix III*, also decided that Gregory was the originator; see *Off.* IV.xxiiii-xxv (OLO II.481-485)]. By contrast Walahfrid's account of the so-called Minor Rogations is essentially correct, being based largely on Gregory of Tours and synods; for modern accounts see L. Duchesne (1919), 287-289, CAP III, 241-250.

Walahfrid limits his discussion to penitential processions connected with times of disaster or personal misfortune. Since a penitential procession does not permit hymns and songs of joy, its principal chant is the litany of the saints (see commentary c.23:497.16-17): the names of saints are sung by one or more soloists with an unvarying response, such as *ora pro nobis*, sung by the walking crowd. Rogations include a period of fasting and conclude with a celebration of the Eucharist. Cp. Walahfrid's history of the western tradition of liturgical processions with that of the east, e.g., B. Croke (1981), 122-147; G.

Dragon (1981), 87-103, esp.96. For the history of the processional litany in England see M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, HBS (publication forthcoming).

513.20-28 GREGORIUS ... CONIUGATAE: For Gregory of Tours's source see Avitus, bishop of Vienne from c.490, *Homilia in rogationibus* (MGH *Auct.ant.* VI.ii, 108-110 and note on 109).

513.22 PELAGIO PAPA: Pope Pelagius II (579-590).

513.23 SEPTENAM ... LAETANIAM: Both Gregory of Tours and Paul the Deacon use the phrase *septiformis laetania*, commonly used in Patristic texts (L&S); in keeping with his more formal usage, however, Walahfrid uses the classical *septena laetania*.

513.24 SEPTEM TURMAS: Note that Paul, and therefore Walahfrid, omits all mention of the Roman 'regional' basis of the seven groups to which Gregory of Tours had made reference.

513.33-35 AURELIANENSIS ... VACARE: Cp. 511 Council of Orléans, c.27: *Rogationes, id est laetantias, ante ascensionem Domini ab omnibus ecclesiis placuit celebrari, ita ut praemissum triduanum ieiunium in Domenicae ascensionis festivitate solvatur; per quod triduum servi et ancillae ab omni opere relaxentur, quo magis plebs universa conveniat. Quo triduo omnis absteneant et quadragesimalibus cibis utantur* (CCSL 148 A, 11-12).

513.35-514.1 NON ...SPONSUS: Note the Vulgate text, Mt 9.15, *numquid possunt filii* etc; I have adapted the D-R translation to agree with Walahfrid's *non*.

513.35-514.4 HISPANI ... NOVEMBRIS: The pertinent Spanish rulings are the 517 Council of Gerona, cc.2: *De letaniis, ut expleta sollemnitate Pentecosten sequens septimana a quinta feria usque in sabbatum per hoc triduum abstinentia celebretur* and 3: *Item secundas letanias faciendas kalendis novembribus...*; the 636 Council of Toledo V, c.1: *Scilicet ut in*

cuncto regno a Deo sibi concesso specialis et propria haec religiosa omni tempore teneatur observantia, ut a die iduum decembrium letaniae triduum ubique annua successione peragantur et indulgentia delictorum lacrymis impetretur (CVH, 39, 226).

514.2 and 4 IEIUNARE and IEIUNIUM: Walahfrid makes other references to ascetic fasting on fast days (as opposed to fasting before the Eucharist: see c.20) in cc.19, 21, 24; for commentary see 21:493.33.

514.7-12 LAETANIAE . . . COMMEMORARET: Walahfrid seems to be making a partial change of subject, i.e. the comparable recitation of the names of those martyrs whose *dies natalis* it is at an appropriate point in the Mass: see c.23:501.7-22. He is accurately summarising the apocryphal correspondence which precedes the text of the so-called *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (ed. de Rossi and Duchesne, *Acta Sanctorum* Nov. II, pt.1; 1894) in all early manuscripts: Chromatius was bishop of Aquileia (d.407), Heliodorus bishop of Altino (d. c.404). A north Italian origin in the mid-5th c. is generally accepted, although the archetype of all existing manuscripts - and presumably of the unknown MS used by Walahfrid - was written in eastern Gaul c.600: for a good summary see J. Dubois (1978), 29-37; see additional bibliography in ODCC, s.v. HIERONYMIAN MARTYROLOGY, 646. But the connection between this practice and the creation of the 'Martyrology of Jerome' seems to be his own.

514.10 IN CONCILIO EPISCOPORUM: The 431 Council of Ephesus.

CHAPTER 30

Chapters 30 and 31, brief afterthoughts on two blessings, offer additional evidence that *De exordiis* was intended for teaching parish priests. Blessings are connected to the lives of the people in an immediate way, and they point to real concerns between priest and parish.

To 'bless' (*benedicere*) is to 'say a good word' that is addressed to God on behalf of human beings or to human beings on behalf of God. Prayers of blessing focus on praise, admiration and thanksgiving rather than on petition. But while the blessing of God descends on human beings, it also extends to the other works of His hand, such as water (in this chapter) and the Paschal candle in c.31. Walahfrid is meticulous about giving these parish responsibilities the authority of the Bible, conciliar rulings and the LP.

In this short account of water for sprinkling he is referring to two separate liturgical actions: baptism and the purification of places. An outgrowth of the former is the Sunday Asperges at the principal Mass (CAP I, 173-75, and esp. 200-201).

He makes a unique typological comparison with the protection afforded by the blood of the Passover lamb and baptismal water sprinkled on the bodies and homes, fields, etc. of Christians. For a recent study of holy water and the development of Carolingian formulas for its use with full bibliography see H. Schneider (1985), 337-364, esp. 359-60.

514.13 IN HABITACULIS: The translation of *in habitaculis* is problematic. The use of 'on the houses' seems to rule out the sprinkling of the interior in the same way that 'in the houses' (R. Davis [1989], 4) seems to rule out the aspersion of the exterior. It is unlikely that such a distinction was made: both the exterior of the house and the interior with its contents would have been blessed. However, I have been unable to find any evidence for this specific point.

514.13-14 AQUAM ... CONSTITUIT: With the exception of the administration of baptism, this account in the LP is the earliest witness to the blessing of water (LP I, 127, [n.5]). The Old Gelasian Sacramentary, of uncertain date but probably after the mid-6th-c. date of the LP (between 629 and 715: C. Vogel [1986], 68-69), contains the formulas for

benedictionis aquae spargendae in domo (GeS, ed. H.A. Wilson, nos 285-288; GeS, ed. L.K. Mohlberg, nos 1556-65), which are still, for the most part, in use today. It formally states that the water should be mixed with salt and that its principal use was for the *habitacula hominum*: '*... (Angelus Dei) defendat omnes habitantes in hunc habitaculum famuli tui illius; Deum ... deprecamur ut habitaculum istum una cum habitatoribus benedicere atque custodire dignetur; ... ut quicquid inloti (in loci ed.) in domibus fidelium haec unda resperserit, careat immunditia, liberetur a noxa*', etc. See Walahfrid on guardian angels in c.13:487.18.

514.14-17 SICUT ... RENATORUM: See the baptismal OR XI nos 94-95 which instructs that the font and people attending the baptism be sprinkled with the consecrated baptismal water. For prayers of consecration see the Old Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries (GeS, ed. H.A. Wilson, no.44 and GrS nos 373-374e). This being done, and before the infants are baptised, if the people so wish they are to be given a container of the holy water to take home for the aspersion of their homes, vineyards, fields and produce. A special blessing for this action would be appropriate, but I have been unable to find any reference to it.

514.16 SANGUIS AGNI: Walahfrid's other reference to the passover or paschal lamb is c.19:492.5, but there it is Christ and not holy water which is the typological figure.

514.17 MYSTERIUM: Note that Walahfrid uses *mysterium* for sacrament in the widest sense of its meaning: see commentary on prose preface 475.9.

CHAPTER 31

See also the introduction to commentary on c.30 (p.266). Although not a feature of the papal rite, the blessing of the Paschal candle was well established in the *tituli* (see commentary 32:516.1 *titulorum*) in Rome, elsewhere in Italy, Spain and Gaul (L. Duchesne [1919], 251-56).

For an examination of the MSS and texts of *OR XXIV-XXVI*, which are concerned with the blessing of the Paschal candle, see Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani* III, 301-302, 320-322; C. Vogel (1986), 171. The text for the blessing of the Paschal candle is the lovely and elaborate *Exultet*; it is found in ancient Gallican sacramentaries (Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani* III, 301) and the Carolingian Supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary (GrS 1021, 1022a-c).

Amalarius is typically concerned with the allegorical meaning of the Paschal candle (*Off.* I.xviii, xx.1 [OLO II.111-113, 121]); Rhabanus Maurus states only that the blessing of the candle begins the celebration of the Easter Vigil (*De cler. instit.* II.xxxviii [PL 107; col.350B]).

514.18-20 CEREUM ... NEGLEXISSE: Walahfrid makes an interesting addition to his citations of the LP ruling concerning suburban churches and to the ruling of the Council of Toledo IV: neither ruling makes his distinction, *non solum in principalibus ecclesiis, sed etiam in parochiis*; cp. the ruling of Pope Zosimus (417-418): *et per parrocia concessa licentia cereum benedici* (LP I, 225) and the 633 Council of Toledo IV, c.9: *Lucerna et cereus in pervigiliis apud quasdam ecclesias non benedicuntur, et quur a nobis benedicantur inquirunt. Propter gloriosum enim noctis ipsius sacramentum sollemniter haec benedicimus, ut sacrae resurrectionis Christi mysterium, quod tempore huius votivae noctis advenit, in benedictione sanctificati luminis suscipiamus; et quia haec observatio per multarum loca terrarum regionesque Spaniae in ecclesiis commendatur, dignum est ut propter unitatem paci in Gallicanis ecclesiis conservetur. Nulli autem inpune erit qui haec statuta contemserint, sed paternorum regulis subiacebit* (CVH, 194).

However, this distinction is made in *OR XXIV.22*: *Feria sexta, hora tertia, convenient omnes presbiteri tam civitatis quam de suburbanis et omnis clerus cum populo in ecclesia statuta infra urbem, non tamen in*

maior ecclesia et expectant pontificem vel qui vicem illius tenuerit
(Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani* III, 292).

CHAPTER 32

In this extraneous chapter Walahfrid's intention is clear, to find parallels between secular offices and orders of the church. But the parallels he draws are a mixture of historical and archaic ones and the usage of Francia in his own time. Something similar was attempted later by Hincmar in *De ordine palatii* on a more elaborate scale, but there is nothing in common between them. The sources of his archaic vocabulary are not clear; the influence of Isidore is apparently minimal. Perhaps Walahfrid had one or more glossaries, but none of the familiar published ones seem to be the sources of his more unusual terms such as *ludorum exhibitores*, *questionarii*, and *chiliarchi*. For the 9th- and 10th-c. MS illustrations of ecclesiastical officers see R. Reynolds (1971), 432-442 figs. 1-6b.

Walahfrid's contemporaries compared the ecclesiastical offices to the hierarchy of the Old Covenant: Amalarius *Off.* II.vi.4 (OLO II.215); Hincmar, *Pro institutione Carolomanni regis* 4 (PL 125, col.995) and *Capitula synodica* 1 (PL 125, col.1071).

It has been argued that this chapter marks an important stage in the development of hierocratic theory (W. Ullman [1955], 138-9), and indeed Walahfrid maintains not only that a strict hierarchical ordering is necessary, but also that this hierocratic order is instituted from a central agency, the Roman Church. However, although c.32 makes interesting comparisons, because of the limited distribution of the text, the chapter could have had little influence on the development of a hierocratic theory.

514.21 NUGARUM: The use of *nugae* (trifles) is an early example of the medieval topos of self-deprecation.

515.3 AUGUSTI: As is well known the title *augustus* was revived to be applied to the ruler of the Franks on Christmas Day, 800. See *Annales regni francorum*: ... *et a cuncto Romanorum populo adclamatum est: 'Carolo augusto...'* (ed. G. Pertz, MGH *SS rer. Germ.*, 112).

515.3-6 SICUT AUGUSTI ... STATUERIT: Cp. the 343 Council of Sardica, cc.3, 4, 7 (EOMIA I^{II}.3, 455-60, 468-71).

515.9-10 IN CONCILIO ... OSTENDITUR: Cp. the 325 Nicene Council (*Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 8).

515.12-13 TERTIUM ... SEDEM: Since Mark had written his Gospel according to Peter's words, Mark's see was regarded as a Petrine diocese; see also Bede's preface to his commentary on the Gospel of Mark (CCSL 120, 431).

515.13 PER MARCUM FILIUM SUUM: See I Pt.5.13: *Marcus filius meus*.

515.17 PATRIARCHAE: For the use of the title *patriarcha* in the early medieval church see the comprehensive study by H. Fuhrmann (1953-4), with references to *De exordiis* in (1954), 22⁷² and 31¹⁰¹.

515.21-22 UNDE ... DIVIDATUR: Cp. the Council of Chalcedon, c.12: *Ut in una provincia unus sit metropolitanus episcopus* (*Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 69).

515.22-23 COMITES VEL PRAEFECTI: While *comes* is of course the standard Carolingian term for the most important local royal agent, *praefectus* was used simultaneously in several different senses (MLLM s.v., 204-207, 831).

515.25 TRIBUNI: For the development of the meaning of *tribunus* in the Latin regions of the Byzantine empire see T.S. Brown (1984), 56.

515.25 ATHLETIS SPIRITALIBUS: Cp. Walahfrid's prose *Vita S. Galli*, I.xi where he describes Gallus as *athleta Dei* (MGH *SS rer. Merov.* IV, 292.20); cp. also his verse *Vita Sancti Galli confessoris*, c.29: *Talibus atletam [sc. Gallus] precibus dum presbiter implet* (MGH *Poetae* II, 463.1380).

515.26 PRAETORES VEL COMITES PALATII: The Roman *praetor* of the classical period was an important magistrate; the late imperial *praetor* was an imperial governor. Walahfrid seems to be the first writer to use the term to designate the distinctively Frankish 'count of the palace'. For the judicial functions of *comites palatii* see the references in Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, 70¹⁵⁹; cp. D.A. Bullough (1984), 85 and [n.41].

515.27 SUMMOS CAPPELLANOS: For the history of and the terminology for the Carolingian *cappella* and *cappellanus* see J. Fleckenstein (1959); for their connection with the *cappa* of St. Martin see esp. 11-14.

515.28 CLERICORUM and 32 CLERICI: See commentary c.7:481.27.

515.29 VASSOS: For the history of the term *vassus* in the 8th and early 9th c. see D.A. Bullough (1984), 85-87.

515.34 CHOREPISCOPOS: The function of *chorepiscopi* had its origins in the east, but for the development of the term in the west see W. Levison (1946), 66-68.

515.36 PLEBIUM: For *plebs* and *plebes* as approximately the equivalent of the modern English 'parish' see E. Boyd (1952), c.3; see also Ducange vol.6, s.v., 363-4; MLLD s.v., 807-8.

516.1 TITULORUM: *Tituli* may be described as the parish churches of the city of Rome; in the Middle Ages, however, they were never churches whose clergy had a territorial jurisdiction over a definite area or circumscription (G.G. Willis [1968], 4-5).

526.1-7 SUB ... DUUMVIRI: Walahfrid's parallel here is entirely artificial and raises problems of sources for his terminology; see above in the introduction to this chapter.

516.7-9 AD HORUM ... OFFICIO: By the 9th c. *diaconi* and *subdiaconi* were the only minor orders in regular use. It is noteworthy that Walahfrid feels it unnecessary to explain the terms to his audience. They have been discussed at length in Isidore (*Etym.* VII.xii) and Rhabanus (*De cler. inst.*, I.vii-xii [PL 107, cols.302-305]).

516.9 ARCHIPRESBYTERI: Interestingly by contrast Walahfrid feels it is necessary to define *archipresbyter*. Historically this man was the senior priest of the clergy in a cathedral church. Use of the term *canonici* for clergy in cathedral churches is, however, a Carolingian innovation which stems eventually from Chrodegang's Rule and the 816 Decrees on canons.

516.12-16 SUNT ... PSALMISTAS: Historically the minor orders in the church were retained as orders in the ordination process: see ODCC s.v. MINOR ORDERS, 919.

516.12 QUESTIONARII: In the 4th c. it meant a torturer, but Walahfrid might not have known that.

516.14 VEREDARIOS: *Veredarius* is late latin; for early medieval use see, e.g., Aedilwulf, *De abbatibus* (written c.803/821), c.6 (ed. A. Campbell, 11); 845-846 Council of Meaux, c.57 (MGH *Capit.* II, 412).

516.16 PSALMISTAS: By the 9th. c the order of *psalmista* had become an anachronism: see B.Botte (1939), 229, 237-40; Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani* III, 542; R. Reynolds (1971), 440-41.

516.22-3 SED SI ...CONDOLEANT: This is a deviation from the Vulgate, I Cor 12.26: *et si quid patitur unum membrum conpatiuntur omnia membra sive gloriatur unum membrum congaudent omnia membra*.

LAST PARAGRAPH

Walahfrid's final remarks of *De exordiis* are couched in the topoi of rhetoric: the conclusion of an oration was supposed to summarize the principal points and then to make an appeal to the emotions of the hearer, that is, stir him to enthusiasm or to sympathy. He emphasizes the magnitude of the themes, *rerum magnitudo*, and the diverse topics, *diversitates*. The vocabulary in this paragraph both suggests that in the prefaces and repeats it.

Concluding paragraphs in a literary style are uncommon in Carolingian treatises, but see exceptionally the final statements of his

teacher, Rhabanus Maurus, in *Liber de oblatione puerorum*: *Sed quia libri mensuram excederet, si eorum plurima dicta in hoc opusculum velim coacervare, sufficient haec sobrio lectori quae dicta sunt. Caeterum, qui plura ac majora quaesierit, et nostra scripta fastidio duxerit, legat catholicorum doctorum multiplicia volumina, et, ut credo, a nostro praesenti hoc opusculo eorum sensum non discrepare videbit* (PL 107, col.440B).

516.26 GRAVI PONDERE: Cp.verse preface *Dura Reginberti iussio*.

516.27 OBOEDIENTIAE: Cp. prose preface 475.26 *oboedientia*.

516.30 DIVERSITATUM ... PREBERET: Cp. c.26:507.20-23 *Quia ... auditoris*.

516.30-32 HABEBIT ... EXERCEATUR: Note the appeal to the emotions of the reader, the kindling of enthusiasm, promoting the desire for further knowledge.

516.31 LECTORIS: See commentary c.1:476.9.

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